

BRITAIN'S NEW ORDER

PEACE SECURITY
AND FAITH

By
AUSTIN KNIGHT



LONDON
CHAPMAN & HALL LTD.
11 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.2
1942

First published 1942



THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED
IN COMPLETE CONFORMITY
WITH THE AUTHORIZED
ECONOMY STANDARDS

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY JARROLD AND SONS, LTD.
THE EMPIRE PRESS, NORWICH

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR

THERE is a tendency, and a perfectly understandable one, to decry any attempt to face post-war problems while the immediate future is so obscure and uncertain. Obviously, the most important job of all is to win the war, for if it is not won the post-war planning will be done for us by others and we shall have little or nothing to say in the matter. All this is admitted, but is such a danger real? Do not think for a moment the writer under-estimates the great resources and power of the combined forces operating against the Allies; far from it. It does seem to him, however, that one very important aspect is being overlooked. If it were possible for Japan and Germany to secure control of all the lands from the Southern Seas to the North Sea, it would mean the end of Christianity for a century, if not for ever. Without calling the forces of these countries evil, and the forces of the Allies good, it would mean that all we have been taught to believe in—a Divine Creator, controlling the universe, steadily influencing and guiding mankind towards a higher plane of life, must go by the board and that is unthinkable.

If this is so, then an Allied victory is certain, hard and long though the way may be.

In considering the post-war situation it must not be forgotten that **TIME** is not on the side of those responsible for the planning. The people of Britain are determined that the boys of the Air Force who saved her in 1940 and those in all the Services who have sacrificed everything that she might live, shall have their reward.

The danger is that if we do not plan now and plan wisely these young men will have grown to middle age, and

perhaps past it before such plans can materialize, and if that happened no one can foresee the result.

That such a danger exists is proved by the fact that twenty-five years after the conclusion of the last war, millions of virile workers still remained unemployed in this country and no practical solution had been found for the problem, either in this country or within the Empire. It can and will happen again unless some brilliant thinking and expert planning is done quickly. The time to do it is *now*. It is because of this urgency that the Author chooses the present time to offer his contribution to post-war planning.

FOREWORD

GOD made man in His own image. There are, no doubt, many like the writer who, looking around at the evidence of man's cruelties, lusts and hates, wonder where within our human frame the likeness to our Divine creator may be found. Indeed, the theories of evolutionists are more understandable, for to-day, man's actions more closely resemble those of the denizens of a jungle than a learned cultured being.

May this not be because, in our arrogance, we visualize a God in man's image rather than the reverse? We think of physical likeness instead of mental, but surely it must be in and through the mind—that gift through which man has achieved so much—that the link with our Creator is found.

Notwithstanding the fact that it is man's scientific discoveries and achievements that have made war so terrible and brought every human being within the zone of its dangers, it is to the mind we must look if man is ever to reach a plane of life freed from the horrors of war, the greed of wealth and power, and the appalling consequences of poverty and sickness.

Is such a plane within the power of man's attainment?

It must be, or civilization can have no meaning.

The process of evolution must have some ultimate goal and that goal is surely the final raising of man's stature until, at last, recognizing the true meaning of his existence, he sees in the powers he has been permitted to discover and control, not the means of personal and selfish aggrandizement, but a new way of life for every human being.

We humans are apt to visualize the world's happenings from the narrow viewpoint of our own brief period of life,

forgetting that many of the amenities we enjoy are ours only because generations, now long dead, suffered and died rather than live under what they deemed to be injustice. The sacrifice of the individual, and the many, for an idea or an ideal is a commonplace event; its genesis—an urge to find a better way of life that seems to have been inherent in the human race from its very beginning.

To-day, men, women and children are dying, sacrificing their lives and with them treasured hopes and ambitions. Why? For freedom, yes! but also something more—an undying belief, that has burned steadily in the human heart for two thousand years, in the high destiny of man, a belief that has been the inspiration behind all revolutions, labour disputes and, with other things, war itself.

To-day, there is a glut of talk in high places that from this welter of blood must emerge a better world, words that seem very familiar to those of us who remember the promise of “a land fit for heroes.” Do politicians not realize that if money had been spent in times of peace with a fraction of the prodigality it is in war, this war might never have happened, for within this Empire upon which the sun never sets are undeveloped lands, untapped resources which, rightly used, might reasonably have contributed handsomely to the world problems of raw materials and excessive populations, which are the recurring causes of war.

IF WE CANNOT SEE IN OUR EMPIRE, GREAT AS IT IS, AN EVEN GREATER POTENTIALITY, WE ARE UNWORTHY OF OUR TRUST.

No plan for reconstruction can succeed or endure unless it takes into consideration not only the needs of Great Britain, but the Empire as a whole.

In this book the view is taken that the greatest immediate asset possessed by the British nation is the virile men and women, particularly men, who have thirty, forty or more

years of active life before them; also, of course, its youth. If the story of the past twenty years were any criterion, millions of these men and women would be doomed to an unknown period of unemployment or uncertainty. Think how utterly ridiculous it is for men, whose physical fitness, pluck, endurance and loyalty have reached such a high state of perfection, to be IDLE! It must not be.

Whatever the cost, and no matter who else may have to bear sacrifices, it is imperative for every one of those men to be reinstated without delay in the jobs, or similar occupations, from which they were taken.

Those who see in the word reconstruction merely a return to the old pre-war life are making a mistake. That life has gone, if not for ever, at least for a generation.

After all, it was not a good life. Somehow or other the craze for speed had cast a spell over us, and really we were not happy. How could we have been in a mad rush which made us blind to every manifestation of nature; made us blind to our faults and drove us insanely on to the accumulation of money to a greater or lesser degree.

Slow up! Think! Think! Think! For it is in the power of the mind that both the leaders of nations and the leaders of industry must largely depend in the search for an answer to the many problems that confront them.

For a generation the wealth that comes from industry, the wealth of our banks must be used for the purpose of consolidating the position of every person living within these shores, and of developing the Empire as a whole.

Those in control of finance would have us believe gold to be the beginning and end of State security. Rubbish! If Hitler had overrun this country, not only would gold have been powerless to help us, but men of great wealth would have been reduced to slavery like the rest of us.

Gold has its uses, that none will deny, but whatever that use, man is the essential factor behind that use. Have

our lords of finance learnt this lesson? Or, when the war eventually ends, will they again begin colossal international plans to control industry.

In this task of reconstruction, let us begin by putting wealth in its rightful place—second to man—and see what kind of a world we can make of it.

Without man-power wealth can neither be accumulated nor protected. Without wealth, i.e. capital, the full outpourings of man's mind and energies cannot be brought to full achievement.

In business the two things are inseparable, with man's mind predominating.

In post-war planning then, man and his needs are the first consideration. Now, what is it man in the mass has been striving for since the world began—security, a simple essential to his happiness that can no longer be withheld. Security in employment and security when, after contributing his full quota of years in industry, or upon the land, he is called upon to step aside in the interests of youth.

It is the writer's privilege to belong to a Bowling Section of a Sports Club run in connection with one of our most famous railways though, in passing, he has no connection with that railway. Among the men with whom he spends so many happy hours are those who, because of the admirable pensions scheme organized by the company, are able to spend the evening of their lives in peace and contentment. They haven't riches, these men, but they have something even more precious—security, and they are among the happiest of men. Is there any logical reason why every working man and woman should not be given pension benefits similar to those enjoyed by all Civil Servants and the employees of great industrial concerns like the railway company in question?

We have already seen that the position of the men with thirty or forty years of active life normally before them must be safeguarded, for they are the fathers, or potential

fathers of the generation for which we are planning. If the doors of industry must of necessity be closed to a section of workers, then the sacrifice should surely be borne by those who are nearing the end of their active lives.

Even this compulsory retirement of elderly workers will not completely solve the problem of unemployment in this country, but is not Great Britain the Motherland of a great Commonwealth of Nations—huge Dominions possessing resources and millions of acres of idle lands awaiting cultivation and development? In this book an attempt is made to co-ordinate these facts and formulate a plan that would be the final answer to this question.

Those of you who heard the Broadcast talk "Three Men and a Parson" must have realized that much of what we ourselves are thinking was expressed by those three, and in the last talk, even better by a newcomer. To thinking men and women, it seems something must be wrong with the methods of those who have accepted the task of expounding the teachings of Christ, when one sees the devilish pass to which civilization has come. Unless the Church is true to its convictions, and strong enough to live up to the beautiful teachings of Christ, the Christian religion cannot live, despite the fact that men and women long for and need a living religion as perhaps never before.

Think of it! nearly 2,000 years of Christianity, yet its influence has not been great enough to prevent the catastrophe of two world wars between Christian nations in twenty-five years. In the new world that will have to be built up from the present wreck, the Church has a tremendous opportunity. It can succeed only if differences of creed are forgotten, and the whole of Christ's Church stands forth united in a common plan. Is the faith of the Church in its Master's teaching and example strong enough to do this? One doesn't know. One can only hope that it is.

Another great change advocated in this book is the abolishment of credit, i.e. making it illegal for goods to be sold except for a cash payment.

The ultimate aim of woman in the sphere of national life—in Government, the Professions and all spheres of industry and commerce is a problem that still further complicates reconstruction. Equality of opportunity with man may have seemed a perfectly legitimate aim in normal times, but can it be so considered in times like these, when even the future of man is undecided?

Much as one appreciates all woman has done, one undeniable fact induces caution. The average man's earnings are devoted to the support of a home—a wife and children—a woman's more usually to her own needs.

This book was *not* inspired by the great world tragedy now being enacted. It is the outcome of ten years quiet study and thinking. Those who read it will find a plan of life outlined which the great achievements of science surely bring into the realms of practicability. To-day, wealth and power stand revealed for the unstable things they are; the only hope for the future of the world lies within man, his mind, his power to think, to recognize his own weaknesses and work and plan steadily for his own salvation.

Self-sacrifice and co-operation is the spirit, then, in which we must face this momentous task, and perhaps the best way to end this preface is to quote the words of Mr. Mackenzie King—Canada's Prime Minister—when he addressed a distinguished gathering at London's Mansion House.

“A new world order to be worthy of the name is something that is born, not made. It is something that lives and breathes, something that needs to be developed in the hearts of men,

something that touches the human soul. It expresses itself in goodwill and in mutual aid. It is the application in all human relations of the principle of helpfulness and of service. It is based not on fear, on greed and on hate, but on mutual trust and the noblest qualities of the human heart and mind.

"It seeks neither to divide nor to destroy. Its aim is brotherhood, its method co-operation.

"A new heaven and a new earth—are not these, in very truth, what we seek to-day? A heaven to which men and women and little children no longer will look in fear, but where they may gaze in silent worship and in thankfulness for the benediction of the sun and the rain; an earth no longer scarred by warfare and torn by greed, but where the lowly and the humble of all races may work in ways of pleasantness and walk in paths of peace.

"And the sea no longer will be the scene of conflict, nor harbour any menace; it, too, will gladden the hearts of men as it unites, in friendly intercourse, the nations of the world.

"Then . . . shall all men's good
Be each man's rule, and universal Peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Thro' all the circle of the golden years.

"This new heaven, this new earth, is the vision which, at this time of war, unites, inspires and guides Britain, Canada, and other nations of the British Commonwealth, the United States and our Allies in all parts of the world. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory. No lesser service to humanity will hold the faith and win the gratitude of mankind."

All that is needed to make this marvellous vision an actuality is Peace, Security, Faith: faith in the wisdom of our Creator and faith in ourselves and the greatness that is within us—all of us, somewhere.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTE BY THE AUTHOR	iii
FOREWORD	I
CHAPTER	
I. THE CAUSE OF THE WORLD'S TROUBLES	9
II. MAN AND MACHINES	23
III. THE MEANING OF LEISURE	33
IV. THE EMPIRE ALSO HAS A PART TO PLAY	65
V. DEMOCRACY AND YOUTH	91
VI. AND WHAT OF THE WOMEN?	101
VII. WHAT PART HAS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THIS NEW WORLD WE ARE SEEKING?	114
VIII. POST-WAR TRADING: A FINANCIAL REVOLUTION	138
IX. THE PROBLEM OF CRIME	160
CONCLUSION	173
EPILOGUE	178
INDEX	183

CHARTS

THE AUSTIN KNIGHT HOME PLAN	<i>facing page 9</i>
THE AUSTIN KNIGHT EMPIRE RESEARCH— DEVELOPMENT AND MARKETING PLAN	<i>facing page 90</i>

CHAPTER ONE

THE CAUSE OF THE WORLD'S TROUBLES

. . . "and God saw that *it was* good."

He saw that it was good—good! Just think of it! He was looking at this world which the greed of man and machines is rapidly turning into a war-mad inferno. What He saw and called, "good" was a world of comparative silence, a silence broken only by the whispering of the wind through the trees: the happy singing of the nesting birds; the movement of life in the hidden places beneath, and the rippling melody of running water.

And was not the pride of achievement expressed in those few words amply justified? Think of the virgin beauty of the green hills and shaded valleys; the beasts of the fields quietly feeding or resting beneath the trees; the stately forests with silvery streams winding through them and across the rolling country-side, lordly mountains, whose tips merged into the soft blues and greys of the very heavens; behind them perhaps the sea . . . restless, mysterious, mighty.

Can you not imagine that majestic figure standing in warm sunshine, marvelling at the beauty of the scene, and smiling happily at the thought of that masterpiece He had yet to form?

Good! Of course it was good; how good one can only realize by going to the mountain-tops and country places still unharmed by man's destroying influence.

Then He created man, the only living creature upon that lovely Earth with a mind, the only living creature with a smiling face . . .
"and God saw that *it was* good."

It doesn't matter how many hundreds of thousands of

years ago this happened or how it happened—enough that it did happen, since then the history of the world is the story of the fight between that mind of man's and the elementary thing from whence he came—Nature.

THAT RESTLESS MIND OF MAN'S

To man God also gave woman and to them both the world as their heritage. He taught them how to plant seed in one season and to garner it in another so that they might live. In addition to a mind He gave them speech so that understanding, companionship and love might come into their lives. They were given domination over all other living creatures. But as the years went by that mind of man's proved troublesome. It made him restless and for ever seeking other than the simple pleasures of life. It caused him to discover the power of riches, and as man became rich both in wealth and knowledge so he became arrogant. He searched and discovered many of the great secrets of life. He learned to fly where hitherto he had walked; he learned to listen to voices that spoke afar off and at last seemed upon the point of finding the very secret of life itself.

Gradually he forced Nature to yield up her mysteries; unceasingly he commandeered her resources and learned to control her power. And what has it brought him? RICHES! Aye, a glut of them. Power! Yes, power, and men and nations fight to the death for it. Happiness! No! Happiness is the burnt-offering demanded by those false gods—Riches and Power.

Well "lust for power" has once again brought civilization to the verge of collapse, and the nations of the whole world to unbelievable misery.

And what of the new world when Peace does come—our world in particular? The present conflict will end with Europe in extremis and Britain down to bed-rock. It

must be so, for no nation however wealthy can dissipate its wealth at the rate of £12,000,000 daily for years and begin life again as if nothing had happened.

Yes, the problems of peace will surely be as great as those of the war, when the nation was inspired. To win the peace that inspiration must be maintained, aye, increased by the vision of a completely new conception of life for those who fought, worked and suffered that England, Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations might live.

DIFFICULT TIMES COMING

With peace will come the crucial test of those who lead the nation; what are their plans? Millions of men and women have to be translated from war work to peaceful occupations and it must be a long time before Industry can be ready for them.

Modern business organization is a huge and very complicated machine based upon an equally huge and complicated sales-machine which has been almost wiped out of existence. Further, machines which have been tuned up for the manufacture of munitions of war cannot, as if by the waving of a magic wand, again take up the manufacture of silk stockings, underwear, vacuum cleaners and a hundred and one other peace-time necessities.

It will take time, and during this transition period it must be seen that conditions do not arise that will make the fine workers of Great Britain a prey to uncertainty and the wiles of agitators.

These workers, now in the Navy, Army and Air Force, in the Merchant Service, the factories and workshops, saved the nation, saved it because they believed their happiness depended upon freedom.

Happiness therefore is their right, and happiness only comes when the hands are busy, the mind at rest and the way of life secure.

Man in the main has been uprooted from his home and daily task at the country's need; that task, so honourably undertaken, manfully done, is he to be sent home saddened by the knowledge that upon his shoulders must fall the burden of the aftermath of war?

Yet unless new theories of national life do come into being, millions of honest working men are doomed to a ghastly period of unemployment, for which a weekly gift of money is neither compensation nor consolation. In war, the working man proves himself equal to his so-called betters both in loyalty to the State and in courage. He is just a simple gentleman born in a cottage and that cottage is his stake in the country.

Shall we try to analyse the position of the individual towards the State?

THE STATE AND THE PEOPLE

The State is surely the people; through the masses alone can the State exist and to it each member owes a similar duty—the poor man equally with the rich. In times of national peril, man-power is the all-important factor. Man-power then is the State's basic asset, and because of this, it is the State's first duty to recognize man's right to work and live in comfort. This right to work is not the prerogative of one class, it is the prerogative of all and must be insisted upon. "By the sweat of his brow"—not of other men's brows, mind you, God ordained man should live, and probably the cause of many of the troubles in the world may be traced to man's departure from this Divine ruling.

In the ideal State, as we see it, there is no place for a completely leisured class; further, no man may become rich until every person within that State has sufficient for his needs and reasonable comfort.

The right to work and to a sufficient return from his

labour is man's natural heritage; his well-being of more importance to the State, and to take precedence of the provision of unearned profits to directors, shareholders and others, and every other consideration.

Those who still believe that in all civilized communities there must be "those who have" and "those who have not," must pause to remember that in times of peril it is the "have nots" in their millions who go to death for the protection of the property of the "haves." The ownership of property is a trust: ownership must always depend upon the basic fact of State stability, and State stability depends first and last upon the common man.

If this is the position of man towards the State, what is the position of property and riches? Property and riches exist purely and solely because of State stability. Financial corporations, huge business combines and others would have us believe that because of their strength, they are the factor behind State stability. A delusion! Defeat in war, even the act of war may easily bring an end to all these things, denude the banks of their riches, bring industrial and commercial corporations crashing to ruin, and make ownership of land a crushing liability.

Man in the mass is the only protection these things have, and man in the mass is the State. Profits, then, depend upon man in the mass from two viewpoints . . . as a producer and as a protector; his comfort and security must be the first consideration in this new world now in the making.

For the safety of the State (i.e. as a safeguard against aggressor nations) every boy on leaving school should spend six months in a training centre. This would apply equally to the sons of rich and poor without class distinction. Six months' training in the open air would have an important bearing on the lad's future health and that of potential generations. Further, in the case of working-class boys, it would be a transition period between leaving

school and working in factories, mills, etc. To the writer it has always seemed unfortunate that boys should be taken from school to mix right away with adult men. Six months in a training camp, mixing with other boys from all walks of life, continuing his studies and learning how to keep his body fit, should not only be a fine experience, for any boy, but a healthy break between school and a factory or commercial life; it should also instil an appreciation of his responsibilities as a member of the State, and a fuller conception as to the meaning of life.

How may we best visualize the conditions which can be honestly construed as a perfect life? Is it not the very life you and I of the middle class lead? Yes, it seems laughable, for most of us have our bad moments, but if we are frank surely it must be admitted that those bad moments are caused, not so much by the greatness of our opportunities, as by the frailties of human nature. Let us analyse our lives frankly, and see if the elements that are the chief source of our happiness cannot be discovered.

In the first place we have our life's work, and in that work find not merely the chief source of our incomes, but equally important, the inspiration that comes with a task well and truly done. Think what our lives would be if that daily task of ours were stripped from us, and we were left high and dry with nothing for our minds to concentrate upon and nothing for our hands to do. So we have to be thankful for "security."

THE BASIC FACTOR OF HAPPINESS

In man's daily task, then, is found the true basis of happiness, and in this new England of the future every able-bodied man must have that task.

That daily task of ours done, we have delightful homes to which to return. If we need relaxation—golf, tennis and other joys provide it, and it is in these pleasures that

forgetfulness of business and other cares, which are the heritage of all human beings, is found. It is this that makes the lives of the great middle classes so immeasurably different from the lives of the workers, particularly the middle-aged of both sexes.

There is much to be said for that life of the middle classes, and if it were only possible for all to enjoy one similar what a different place this England would be. And it is possible! Possible because, in spite of the curtailment of financial resources, there is one factor which, given goodwill upon the part of all, could easily bring all we most long for well within the realms of possibility; this fact is "leisure," i.e. Time.

All of us at one time or another have had the fact that "Time is money" driven into our brains.

Time is money, but why should it only be when Time is paid for in cash that its value should be recognized.

Look at it this way. Practically all the things you and I enjoy that are beyond the reach of the average working man and woman are ours because of our ability to buy "Time"—the worker's time. Our homes are more delightful and convenient because we can afford to employ workers' time upon their construction and decoration. Yet every home, from the worker's cottage to the millionaire's mansion, begins with bare walls, and the degree of comfort ultimately developed within those walls depends almost entirely upon the use of "Time"—workers' and craftsmen's time.

If you still fail to realize the truth of this statement, go into the most lovely room you know, at one time or another that room was just four ugly brick walls with gaps where the doors and windows were to be. If those four walls belonged to a working man's home, instead of being panelled in fine superbly carved oak, polished mahogany, or other equally delightful methods of decoration, they

would be covered with the cheapest of wallpapers, or even whitewash. The doors, instead of being in solid oak or other choice woods, would be "three-ply" framed in deal; the windows—instead of expensive stained or heavy plate glass—the cheapest glass it is possible to find. So, all that goes to make that room beautiful, not of course forgetting the owner's taste in conceiving such a room, exists merely because the owner could afford to purchase enough of the best craftsmen's time to make it so. Of course, the use of only the best material played an important part, but even that material found its beauty under the workman's skilled hands. That lovely panelling, for example, once a soulless piece of wood, some craftsman giving his best prodeced beauty that may last for centuries. The same thing happened to almost everything the room contains; the exquisite fabrics, the carpets and rugs, the glass and china, oh, just everything that matters—the work of man's hands. In the land around the house one is confronted with the same evidence. Those borders so full of colour; the lovely paved rose garden with its pergolas covered with bloom; that lawn, and beyond the hedge of yew trees, the kitchen garden and fruit-laden orchards; all the beloved possessions of some man of means, simply because he can afford to purchase a gardener's time.

So, according to the degree of wealth one possesses depends the limit to which the employment of worker's time can be indulged.

Workers have no wealth in terms of money, but they have its equivalent—leisure time in abundance and the organized use of that leisure can bring to them most of those things the average middle-class citizen enjoys because of the possession of money.

In a later chapter it is shown how, by the organized use of millions of leisure hours weekly for three years in a great community effort, the standard of life of the working

classes can be raised to that of the average pre-war middle-class family, and mass unemployment permanently eliminated.

THE AWAKENING OF THE HUMAN CONSCIENCE

Before going any further it is necessary to visualize the changes that must ensue once hostilities cease. That there will be changes, drastic changes, none will deny, for no nation will be content to tolerate those conditions which have led up to the present conflict.

We have had twenty or more years of propaganda; probably we shall have more of it, and the danger of propaganda is that, only too often, it is directed to those who may be considered to have a legitimate grouse against the conditions of life.

Men whose position in life is not secure will always be the prey of honest and dishonest propagandists. It is so understandable to those of us who come from working-class stock and know from terrible experience the fear of and results of unemployment; recurring periods in which, with the father out of work, the mother is forced into uncongenial labour if the children are to be assured of a minimum of food and clothing. This happily is a thing of the past, but the majority of elderly workers have experienced it and the bitterness of the memory remains.

In twenty-five years "isms" have probably been the cause of more bloodshed, more horror, more injustice, more loss of wealth and treasure than in any other period of the world's history. In their train has come, not the promised content and security, but unbelievable fear—every nation mistrusting the other. The battle between the "have" and "have not" nations, the "have" and "have not" classes, will not end with this war unless security of position is assured to the great mass of workers in every land, and to nations.

Security is man's right. To answer that the present system of "National Health Insurance in this country means security for working men and women" is to beg the question.

Man's right to work, to have a decent home, a secure future and real possibilities of a happy life, is a basic factor of national and international well-being, and the time has come for the problem to be faced and a solution found. If it is not, then the possibility is that even more peril lies before us than that we are now fighting to overcome.

When the war is over are we once again to experience the terrible years of unemployment that followed 1914-18? The situation is almost bound to be identical, if not worse, but this time new factors must be taken into consideration, i.e. the increase in machine production during the past twenty-five years and *a great stirring of the national conscience.*

GREAT CHANGES ESSENTIAL

Obviously a great change must come in the whole attitude of governments to the mass of workers. In the past concessions have only been wrested from employers and governments alike as the result of agitation and the combined insistence of Trade Unions. No State based on such a foundation is devoid of trouble, nor is its future safe.

The Workers' Insurance Act is a mere recognition of the workers' right to security, but it makes no attempt to remove the injustices that have been the cause of all discontent among the working classes for centuries.

The average British working man is the salt of the earth. His ready acceptance of the discomforts and perils of war; his good humour under the most terrible conditions are proof of it and the time has come to give him a square deal.

He is the man who in times of peace, if he has steady work and a wage that leaves him a small margin for

pleasure and to safeguard his family against the unexpected in life, asks no more.

If there is no work for him, he exists upon the scraps thrown to him from the rich man's table in the form of unemployment pay. It may seem unjust to refer to the "Dole" in such terms, but that is how the unemployed worker views it, and it is his point of view we are trying to see. A "scrap" to keep him quiet and impervious to the arguments of agitators. If you think this an exaggeration, think back; how many times have *you* heard the dole condoned as "insurance against revolution."

So it would seem that in the past, in times of peace, the function of the workers is to "work" where work can be obtained, or "keep quiet" on the dole; but when war comes and the State is in peril, what a metamorphosis! In some miraculous way these same men—in work and workless—become in the mass the one bulwark of safety; they are taken from the workshop or home, dressed in khaki and taught a new trade—the trade of killing.

Strange it is that so few see the humour of this really remarkable change of front.

To teach these men their new temporary trade money flows into the national coffers as if from an inexhaustible store, and no one grumbles. To do so would be unpatriotic, and of our patriotism we are intensely proud. Besides, the money is being spent on a good cause, that of protecting the means of making more money when the international situation clears. Even so, the worker in khaki still gets but little in this prodigious dissipation of the nation's wealth.

Let there be no misunderstanding about the value of "workers in the mass" to the State in times of war. Unless he should the burden and is willing to risk his life in the defence of his country, that country would be a very unsafe place to live in. Upon his action depends the nation's

security, and in return for his great-heartedness is it not possible to secure his future and make some real effort to raise the whole standard of his life?

THE MEN WHO SAVED BRITAIN ARE COMING BACK

This man, who time after time, saved England when but for him England could not be saved, is coming back . . . to what?

It will be said with perfect truth that men from all grades of society share with working men the great horror of war. Of course they do. The blood of the sons of kings, of peers, of large landowners, of financiers, of businessmen, of the great middle class, all flow, but these surely have something tangible at stake. To them the winning of the war means the saving of estates, great industrial concerns, stores and businesses of all kinds and dimensions. To the working man, win or lose, if the story of the past is repeated, it means only too often . . . uncertainty.

He will be coming back to an England seemingly stripped of her wealth; an England in which mass unemployment will again seem inevitable; an England certainly in the throes of reorganization—with the politicians stressing the need for economy and retrenchment.

Economy and retrenchment are all very well for those who have a margin to economize upon, but if as so often is the case, the greatest weight of national economy plans are to be borne by those least able to bear them, then that appeal will be in vain, for the story of the past twenty-five years cannot be repeated.

Until the position of the men who have fought, no matter their rank, is perfectly secure, there should be no abatement of the war's financial effort. So long as these men were fighting the whole resources of the country were applied to the task without question. If peace had come one or two years later—those resources would still

have been unexhausted and there can be no possible excuse for refusing to continue their use during the transition period between the ending of the war and the settling of men returning from service once again in industry.

It simply means this: the country has every right to call every male member of her population to her defence either in the Forces or munition or other national service if she is threatened; similarly that country owes to every member the right to work and to live in a decent home.

Further, that right to work, that decent home, are the first essential if the classes are to live amicably together; until such a condition is assured the accumulation of profits and luxurious living must be sacrificed to the common task.

For many years there has been a great fear of communistic propaganda throughout this country. Is it not possible this fear was created simply because only the worst side of communism was presented to us and few, if any, realized the inspiration and magnificent work that was going on behind the scene in that marvellous land of Russia?

It is of course true that many phases of communism are unnecessary and would prove unacceptable in a land such as Great Britain where years of enforced education have taken the mass of people far beyond the grip of serfdom. This country, however, does need some inspiration such as communism has brought to the Russian people. What is it in the Russian theory that so inspires her people and drives them with such relentless and splendid energy?

Is it not the sense of part ownership in the land, its industries and social structure that every Russian, even the very poorest, seems to possess.

Possibly, but there is something more vital in it than that, something sacrificial, something spiritual that forces them to give, give, give—time, labour and even life itself—to the cause that so grips them.

Whatever it is, it is a quality we badly need in this England of ours. For the moment Democracy seems uninspired and deadened. The whole process is so slow moving. Its achievements the result of agitation, long periods of discussion, compromise; an ending none will claim as inspiring or in keeping with the speed of modern progress.

It is vitally necessary for us to approach the task of reconstruction from the basis that all must give—money, time, service, or even all three, instead of worrying about what we shall receive. Give generously of our best and none need worry about the reward; that will come in abundance in increased happiness, in a new sense of security and that pride and satisfaction which is always the end of a task well done. Many think the time has come when the nations of Europe and possibly the whole world will have to choose between the democratic form of government and Communism. Well up to now Communism has proved to be the most virile. Even so Democracy has its good points, and if only some of the finer aspects of the Communistic theory can be welded into its structure a form of government would be created that would surely be almost ideal.

CHAPTER TWO

MAN AND MACHINES

Now what are the causes responsible for the present social disorder the world over?

But a few hundred or so years ago the great mass of people in this country were still little more than serfs, their sole purpose in life the securing of food and elementary shelter, mating and breeding.

The message of the priests of the Christian Church of those days, and indeed for many decades after, to those poor, overworked and semi-starved folk was "contentment with the condition in life in which it has pleased God to place you."

Even so, the gentle teaching of Christ could not be withheld from them, and as the years passed and the reading of the Bible became a commonplace event, hope crept into the hearts of a few of the more understanding, and there came the realization that but for the greed of men, the Kingdom of God should and could be on earth; not in a hypothetical place hidden somewhere away above the stars. In other words, with the printing of the Bible began the new awakening of which the full cumulative effect is only now being felt. The Bible made men think, and when men think the process cannot stop—it must be progressive. This thinking led men to know that in teaching men and even little children, living the lives of serfs—downtrodden and underpaid—to be content to live the life in which it had pleased God to place them, was a travesty of Christ's message.

From those days to these is the story of the expanding of people's minds, the growth of clear thinking and its final consummation—free education for all, even the lowest.

EDUCATION WITHOUT PROVIDING THE MEANS FOR FULFILMENT IS A FARCE

To educate is to inculcate an understanding of the finer things in life. If the education of the masses is desirable, then by teaching people to read and so still further expand their minds, one must also provide an existence in keeping with the vision so created. If one doesn't the money is spent in vain; one has merely sown seed—dissatisfaction and envy—that will mature, increase unceasingly and eventually destroy one.

To-day the fruit of the seed of education is ready for the plucking; the rapid increase of Machine Production has hastened its ripening.

Yes, the coming of machines is a very important factor in this ripening of the seed of man's mind. Machines, imposing, terribly efficient, rapacious things without souls, without sentiment or mercy—tools to man's service, yet a very juggernaut that may yet reduce him to impotence. Without a soul? How can that be when into their design and construction have gone the brains and possibly the life of some great engineer-scientist to whom POWER as represented by a maze of gears, cogs and what-not, driven into life by electricity—meant something supreme, almost divine. Without a soul! Where then, if not in those machines, are the souls of the old craftsmen and skilled human beings, whose place in the world they coveted and gained? Listen to those rumblings and clankings and know them for what they are—the birthpains of accelerated production and the ghostly cries of men whose hands have been rendered useless. Listen again! In the midst of those mysterious clankings is there not also the sound of laughter, of jeers, as if the demons of evil shake with levity at the folly of human endeavour which has created such an impasse. Yes, the genius of man's brain has taken him the whole cycle from starvation to plenty—from plenty back again to

starvation. Speed up the machine! Produce—produce—produce. What matters it that man, deprived of work, no longer has the money to buy the things it makes. Laugh humans! laugh demons! For in his greed for riches man has forgotten one thing—the inexorable workings of Divine wrath.

MAN IS THE GREATER

Has history no message for those who would corner the wealth of the world? Listen! Rome, Greece, Spain and other nations—once great, once arrogant and wealthy, where are they? Listen again! It was not the crushed slaves or the poor who suffered most in the debacles that brought those great nations down; it was the rich, the great. Ever the working of Divine wrath brings about common levelling. If those who have power and wealth do not use it rightly, they are brought low—that is history, that is the law of civilization and it is the lesson of the recent unhappy events in Europe if we read it aright.

MACHINES ARE A CREATION OF MAN—MAN THE CREATION OF GOD; THE LESSER CAN NEVER BE ALLOWED TO DESTROY THE GREATER.

The problem, of course, is at its very beginning and will undoubtedly extend to many trades that have hitherto seemed safe from its tentacles. Think of the many spheres of industrial life machines have invaded. Not content with their amazing but perfectly understandable entry into the world of industry and their remarkable elimination of the pick-wielding navvy, they have dared to force their way into the office. Calculating machines have taken the place of many a human genius of figures and surely the next possibility is the marriage of the dictaphone and the typewriter to the extinction of the shorthand-typist.

Who shall say where this thing will end? Indeed it must not end, for it is these very machines, employment

destroying though they may seem, that will show the way to the perfect existence for which the human race was surely destined.

There is a tendency on the part of many to look upon the rapidly increasing efficiency of machines as a threat to man's existence. Rather does not their very efficiency indicate that the pinnacle of human endeavour has been nearly reached?

The achievements of man's brain is rapidly bringing about a condition where he need no longer work by the sweat of his brow, and the outcome must surely be that man's working hours will of necessity be reduced.

Look at it in this light. Machines have lightened the burden of man's hands—he is no longer a hewer of wood, a tiller of the soil, a maker of things in the same way that he used to be: all this has changed—man's job to-day is to tend the machine and with the departure of the heart-breaking, soul-destroying tasks of the past, his mind is growing and it is the nation's job to help it grow.

Thus we have on one hand, man from whom the heavy burden of hard work has been lifted, and on the other the possibility of a shorter working week ensuring a greater degree of leisure to all. The possibilities such a condition creates are so immense that it is difficult to write the words that will give an adequate picture. Indeed, these facts constitute two of the most marvellous things that have happened since the birth of civilization, for through them, every man and woman may find the means of living a life more in keeping with the theory that man is made in the image of God.

ARE WE HAPPY?

Has it occurred to you that despite the "gift of a smile" with which we are endowed at birth, there is very little true happiness in the world? Happiness rarely follows in the

train of riches, though there may be a glut of gaiety. Poverty on the other hand with its daily round of drudgery and uncertainty often brings misery in its acutest form.

Surely there must be some true happiness in the world. There is, and it will always be found where men and women delight in creative tasks—among artists, writers, scientists, musicians, sculptors, architects, doctors and surgeons, and craftsmen. Is it the money gained that brings this happiness? No! For all but a few are, and always will be, poor men. It is pride of achievement alone that lightens their way—the accomplishment of something one sets out to do; the coming a little nearer to perfection—the ideal.

Take pride of achievement out of life and it is the end. It is this fact in a lesser degree that breaks the hearts of the unemployed—nothing for the hands to do. Could anything be more terrible?

Now think! All that is left of many great civilizations of the past is their wonderful treasures of art and literature—the things men did with their hands and through their minds.

Machines have come. Is it not possible to see in them the instrument that can bring into the life of every man something that could not be achieved without them? But before that day comes, governments and employers must be made to see that man is more important than the machines he makes and uses; that human life is divine and machines are only justified so long as they help the total trend of human endeavour and happiness, and lighten the load man has to bear.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

Even if the conditions resulting from the war had not, the advent of world-wide machine production would necessitate a new philosophy. We are living in a new world, an educated world that no longer follows its leaders blindly

or in fear. A world which sees nations like Turkey adopting European dress and political systems, its women discarding the veil and emancipated. A world which sees the chiefs of native races living in modern houses and sending their sons to British and European Universities; a world that sees almost every nation and in particular our own struggling in the throes of rebirth.

This world is ripe for the Brotherhood of Man; from whence will it come? Probably through the millions of "Strube's" "Little Men" of every nation, but it will only come when governments and all classes recognize that just as war brings about a common levelling, so must peace. That levelling is not a question of money but in the habits of life. It is not money itself that the poor crave, but the things the possession of money brings in its train.

LEISURE IS THE GREATEST FACTOR AND THE PLANS OUTLINED LATER ARE BASED ON THE FACT THAT INCREASED MACHINE PRODUCTION AND OTHER HAPPENINGS MUST, IN THE FUTURE, BRING MORE AND MORE LEISURE INTO THE LIVES OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, AND BECAUSE OF THIS, OPEN OUT A NEW VISTA, AND BY THE THOUGHTFUL APPLICATION OF THAT LEISURE BRING ABOUT THAT "EQUALITY" WHICH WAS THE BASIS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' CREED FIFTY YEARS AGO.

Memorize these words because it is only by a true understanding of their meaning that the key to all the following plans will be found.

IS COMPLETE SECURITY FOR ALL POSSIBLE?

While upon this question of Man and Machines it is as well to face the position in which industry will find itself on the conclusion of the war.

As has already been explained, huge plants of machinery, in peace supplying the everyday needs of Britain and the world, are now adapted to the making of munitions.

Other factories, not so fortunate, have had their output reduced to one quarter of its normal by the restrictions designed to prevent the purchase of non-essentials by the public, and in some cases the owners have even been forced to vacate those factories. All very necessary, of course, but factors which will have an important effect upon post-war conditions. Modern industry depends almost entirely upon a huge system of sales-organization which covers not merely Great Britain but in many instances the whole world. These organizations have taken years to bring to their pre-war efficiency. Now many of them are broken up and months must elapse before it is possible for them to function even partially again.

It is therefore obvious that industry must have time to stabilize itself, also to find new capital. The latter may prove difficult with so much of the nation's idle money invested in Government stocks and loans.

Further, the present scale of taxation will probably mean a breaking up of large estates and the vast selling of securities. In the case of the former, it may also lead to sons of the hitherto wealthy classes being forced to earn in the effort to consolidate their position: and in the latter, a considerable disappearance of the capital of industrial concerns, which may have a serious effect upon the huge financial organizations which to-day control industry. Actually, there is a possibility that industry will return, at least so far as finance is concerned, to a condition very similar to that which obtained in Victorian times. We who lived in those times remember it as a period in which the business and industries of the country were largely a family affair. Traders lived over their shops; manufacturing firms were much smaller than to-day, and it was their boast that the business had been built up by generation after generation of the same family. Stripped of their huge accumulation of capital, for it is unthinkable that foreign

money should be allowed to secure control of British industry, is it not possible that once again the great commercial and industrial organizations and combines will break up into smaller units, and by economies again attempt to build up the fortunes that will undoubtedly be absorbed by necessary taxation?

Possibly such a change will be all to the good. During the past two decades, industry has come by money far too easily; further, one must remember that it was during the Victorian period that England built up the accumulation of riches the present generation has squandered.

Though financial stress may force us back to the simpler conditions of the Victorian era, we possess advantages that make our opportunity incomparably greater. Modern machinery has taken the drudgery out of labour, increased output and yet reduced the hours of work. Education has given knowledge, and the conditions under which men work and live have been improved beyond recognition.

There is one thing, and one thing alone, that can save the situation and that is—work must be found, if not in Great Britain, then somewhere within the Empire, for every able-bodied man. A dole, no matter how generous, will not save Great Britain this time. Men must have work for their hands to do, or they will be prey to any insidious propaganda that seems to offer a more solid existence.

It cannot be beyond the brains of man to solve this problem and to ensure work for all in an Empire so full of untapped resources as ours. Indeed, it must be done, for if every man is employed, no matter where within the Empire, his accumulated purchases will go far towards stabilizing weakened industrial and financial situations. The right to work is not the prerogative of one class; it is essential for all to work, for in a perfectly organized State, there is no place for a completely leisured class in times like those we may have to face.

In the transition period between the conclusion of the war and full recovery, the accumulation of profits and riches by individuals must be restricted until the country can once again afford such luxuries. Man's right to work and a sufficiency is his natural heritage; his well-being of more importance to the State than the provision of unlimited and probably unearned profits to boards of directors, shareholders and other possessors of capital.

Those who still believe the possession of money entitles one to use it to make more and more regardless of the sufferings of those who have neither work nor money, will have to think again. The ownership of money or property is a trust and not merely a possession. That ownership must always depend upon State stability, and State stability, we have seen, depends upon man in the mass. The huge financial corporations; huge business combines and banks would have us believe that their strength is *the* great factor behind State stability. A delusion! In war money is certainly one of the basic factors behind the accumulations of war material, but that war material in itself, be it guns, shells or ships, is of no consequence unless "man in the mass" turn its immobility into action. Money and men are inseparable in achieving State stability, and in times of stress it is unthinkable that the possession of money should be considered of greater importance.

As profits and property then depend upon State stability, the State must in peace, as in war, have first call upon them; likewise, the first call upon every man's excess leisure time. If this is true, then during the post-war period of recovery the State should have the right to claim the use of all incomes in excess of a given figure, and the time of all workers up to a given maximum beyond the normal week's work, if it is found necessary. The reason for the latter condition must, for the moment, be left obscure;

it is dealt with fully later on. What is asked for is an equal sacrifice on the part of all. Limitation of excess income on the part of the rich; sacrifice of excess leisure on the part of all workers, black-coat or otherwise.

Those who see an injustice in the restriction of incomes for a period, should remember this:—£5,000 per annum was until recently considered a sufficient salary for the Managing Director of the British Commonwealth of Nations—the Prime Minister; £5,000 sufficient for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Are their duties less onerous than those of the managing principal of a simple trading organization or bank?

This book visualizes the coming of the promised land "fit for heroes." In such a land regular employment, better homes, security and a healthy life are the first essentials, only to be achieved when "excess wealth" and "excess leisure" are recognized for what they really are—two forms of capital, and used rightly. The first step therefore is to co-ordinate these two vital assets into a strong progressive chain of action. By doing so we bring into the democratic principle of government a new factor which will completely change its structure and provide the basis for other equally progressive developments.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEANING OF LEISURE

IN a generation we have seen the hours of work gradually reduced. Fifty years ago, ten or more daily were common: to-day it is eight. What we have not seen, however, is that these additional hours of leisure wrested from employers have a real money value, i.e. to an employer each hour was worth a certain sum which varied according to the skill and duties of the employee. But to the worker those extra two hours of leisure each day seem to have had no monetary value at all.

To an employer each of these hours might be worth on the average 1/- so that as there are approximately 20 million workers in Great Britain the capital value of this time is more than £10,000,000 per week, £429,000,000 per annum.

It is, of course, distinctly understood that this merely represents time value and it does not necessarily follow that this vast sum of money has been lost to industry; indeed it has not. All these figures show and are intended to show is the cumulative money value of time, and a clear understanding of the point is essential.

TIME IS MONEY

It is very necessary to instil in the minds of workers that, in taking from the employer "Time," one takes the equivalent of *money*; and as **TIME IS MONEY**, by having new leisure to enjoy, one has new potential wealth. Thus in giving the workers more **TIME**, i.e. leisure, and showing them that **TIME** is wealth and how to employ that wealth for personal and collective gain, the first step towards equality and

the Brotherhood of Man is brought within the realms of accomplishment.

Is this perfectly clear?

No! then let us return to the four-bare-wall example. The rich enjoy many things that make their lives the envy of their poorer brethren. They have lovely homes, gardens and orchards. They have their golf, tennis, croquet and a host of other delightful occupations; but—and think this over very carefully—they have these beautiful homes and live amid the amenities of so much that is delightful simply because the possession of wealth enables them to purchase workmen's TIME—the time of builders, carpenters, decorators, gardeners, etc.

Why is it that workmen's time only seems to be valuable when it is exchanged for money? There are twenty-four hours in every day; eight of them are sold by the worker to his employer; eight go in sleep, leaving eight or more than a third of the workman's life, if one takes into consideration the week-end day and a half rest—for leisure.

Compare this with the lot of the average workman's wife—she probably works sixteen hours each day, more will be said about this later.

Now let us consider those delightful homes of the middle and upper classes. They, in common with the smallest cottage, begin with bare walls. The development of that home, the beautifying of those bare walls, depends entirely upon time, plus material, planning and supervising. The more elaborate the home, the greater the amount of workmen's time that must be absorbed in its construction.

The workman's cottage also begins with bare walls, and the crudity of its finish is traceable chiefly to the limited amount of workman's time that can be purchased if it is to be sold or let at a figure the workman occupying it can afford.

So long as money is the consideration, workmen's cottages must perforce be limited both in comfort and beauty, but if we accept the principle that time is wealth, every working man has more than enough wealth to change those elementary cottage homes into dwellings that would compare favourably with the modern villas and flats renting at £150 a year and more.

What is it in these modern flats that makes them so tempting to women? Their compactness, their labour-saving equipment, their dainty bathrooms, and above all, their practical kitchens.

Well, workmen's cottages are definitely compact, and on the new housing estates possess bathrooms. They do, however, lack labour-saving equipment, and their kitchens are in no way comparable with those of the modern flat—except that they begin with four walls.

Built into the four walls of the modern flat, however, are delightfully planned store-cupboards, folded tables, convenient sinks and draining-boards, and ample hot water—everything the skill of man's hand can devise and construct.

If your kitchen is like this, go into it and look round—is there anything in it that, with expert guidance, even the most backward craftsman or worker would find difficulty in making, if he could be induced to invest some of his great wealth of leisure, and the Government encouraged him in the task? How, is shown later.

INVEST THIS GREAT WEALTH OF LEISURE

No doubt it will take a lot of persuasion before workmen in the mass can be made to visualize this fact. In the first place, opposition will come from the Trade Unions who will pretend to see danger in men becoming experts in trades—cabinet-making and carpentry for instance—other than their own. The breaking down of this resistance to the scheme will be difficult. The Unions will

probably argue that if men learn to make such things as kitchen cabinets and install them, they will be doing other men out of a job of work.

This of course, is utter rot. How, for example, could it possibly harm the cabinet-making industry if a man who in the ordinary way would never have sufficient money to buy one, should make a kitchen cabinet for himself? The most ardent Trade Union official has nothing to say when his wife sits down and gives up evening after evening of her leisure to make him shirts, to patch his trousers and make his children clothes because his wages are insufficient to enable her to buy them. So let the Unions pause and think before raising all sorts of difficulties against the development of this scheme. Further, because of the rebuilding of devastated areas, it will be many years before skilled carpenters, joiners and builders will be idle, so objections of this nature are purely theoretical.

WOMAN'S MAGNIFICENT USE OF LEISURE

The writer has worked on this idea of leisure and wealth for many years, and it was a long time before he saw in woman's attitude to the question of using leisure as an alternative to money, the example he so badly needed to demonstrate the practicability of his ideas. In the end he found it in, of all places, an "Underground" train.

One day during his half-hour journey to town his attention was attracted to a lady sitting opposite busily knitting a jumper. His eyes travelled down the carriage and he realized that while men occupied themselves in smoking and reading, a big percentage of the women were occupied with needlework of some kind.

His thoughts at once went to his own home and the realization came how rarely his wife's fingers were idle. His mind travelled back to the days when his family of three were young and he remembered how greatly the

expense of clothing them was reduced because of her admirable use of leisure moments.

In almost every home the same thing is in evidence. The average woman rarely wastes time. During spare moments, even if she is unmarried, her fingers are usually engaged in making those things so necessary to her happiness, and in making them, she not only finds pleasure, but conserves her financial resources.

Men are apt to grumble loudly when faced with this evidence of woman's industry, but consider for a moment the great basic fact behind it. The majority of women desire pretty and stylish clothes both for themselves and their children. Rarely do the finances of the home enable them to achieve this desire to its full extent, but they have a few hours of leisure each day and by utilizing those hours to the full, are able to make those adorable garments that are unattainable through the means of the family's or their own purse, *so to them time becomes the equivalent of money*. What an example to men!

IN EVIDENCE IN EVERY HOME

The writer must admit to a certain embarrassment in discovering that what, after years of study and thought he deemed to be a new theory, is merely a fact that has been in evidence in almost every home for generations. It is humiliating, of course, but let us make the most of the lesson.

Woman uses leisure moments to make articles of personal adornment and for beautifying the home, that are beyond the means of her own, or the family purse. This is the whole principle it is necessary to drive home in the plea for the organized use of leisure hours especially now that machines do more and more of the world's heaviest work. It is important for man to realize that just as women to-day use leisure to attain more beauty in their lives, so MAN by following the same example, the same principle,

can attain almost everything he envies in the lives of the more wealthy, if the State will back him.

The cause of envy between the classes lies in the fact that in the lives of one class there is too much drudgery, discomfort and monotony, and in the other a glut of leisure and pleasure. If it were possible to bring into the lives of the poorer classes a better understanding of leisure, more pleasure and infinitely better homes, would not this equalizing their mode of life go a long way towards removing the cause of envy?

THE COST OF LABOUR IS HOLDING UP SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

Is there a man or woman among us whose heart would not be gladdened if the lot of the very poor could be brightened and eased? We hate to think of the conditions under which they live, their awful poverty and hopelessness.

Yet somehow or other it has seemingly been impossible to eradicate the causes that make these conditions. In terms of money the cost is prohibitive, *prohibitive primarily because of the cost of labour*. We know that better homes are the first essential, that so long as slums and discomfort exist so will unrest and dissatisfaction. Much has been done, but still there is much to do.

In the proper utilization of part of men's new leisure hours is it not possible to see the loophole through which all that the most idealistic among us would like to see done, may be achieved. The key to the problem is TIME; hundreds of thousands of working men have at their disposal more leisure each week than ever before. The capital value of all that time has already been shown—it is tremendous. If the nation could have afforded to buy those millions of hours of workers' time in the past, social conditions would have been very different, but now here is the possibility

of those hours being at our disposal—millions of them in the aggregate; surely in no period in our history has such an opportunity existed. Let those hours be controlled, organized and used in a real endeavour to make a complete change in the lives and habits of the workers—not by the expenditure of vast sums of money alone, not by appeals to charity, but by all agreeing to utilize those hours for two or three years in a great community effort to eradicate this great blot on our life and civilization for ever.

The Brotherhood of Man and equality between the classes is nearer to-day than ever before; common sense is bringing the former, and machines, by creating a preponderance of leisure hours over the hours of work, are making the latter definitely possible—if there is vision.

The average middle- and upper-class family find relaxation and forgetfulness in tennis, bowls, golf, dancing and all that kind of thing; the poor have . . . what? And where on earth is there a creature so terribly oppressed by the facts of life as the average working-man's wife?

A MOST NECESSARY REFORM

No trade union worries about her fifteen- or sixteen-hour day for no pay; no factory inspector ever thinks of investigating the conditions under which she labours. This vision of the future certainly sees an even shorter working day, but it also provides that the hours of those hidden workers—the long-suffering wives of working men—shall be similarly limited.

A five-hour day for married working-women is in the writer's opinion the most urgent reform that is needed. Unless it can be brought about all the rest of these plans will be brought to nought. Somehow or other more leisure must be brought into her life and if she has forgotten the way to enjoy it, we must be patient and teach her.

How can a woman do herself or her home justice if she

is burdened with the care of a growing family of little ones—babies, youngsters below school age? Just think for a moment of the conditions under which these women work: box-like, inconvenient and often insanitary homes, babies arriving perhaps every year; can any woman be expected to nurse babies and keep them clean, to watch over the other youngsters, cook for and feed their menfolk, and keep the house as they know it ought to be kept?

It's all very well to say that many of these women are sluts or rotten managers. It is possible that many are, but were they before marriage? Is it not possible that life has just proved too much for them? Just take over their job for a week or so, Mrs. Middle or Upper Class, if you wish to realize to the full the utter futility of their lives and the impossibility of their task. Think for a moment, could a man do his daily task with children around his feet all the time?

THE FIRST STEP

Envy, we say, is the chief cause of contention between the classes, but the working-class wife is too worn out even to be envious, and there must be an amelioration of her lot; the first step is so simple, just this—take the babies completely off her hands for five hours a day so that she may do the day's allotted tasks under fair conditions. That would give her the morning for work and the afternoon free to do as she likes, a condition unbelievable under the present life she leads. Supplement it by seeing that every home in the country is equipped with an electric washing machine and a vacuum cleaning apparatus, and woman's life reaches a new and higher plane at once.

What, you ask, would come of this?

Happiness all round!

A tired, nerve-wracked woman can, quite unintentionally make home life a hell, and the pity of it is that no one

is to blame; least of all the poor woman who has simply undertaken a job beyond the capacity of human endurance.

It is sheer nonsense to talk about the Brotherhood of Man while such vile slavery exists, so the first step in any scheme of social improvement must begin in the homes of the poor and *among the women*.

WHY SHOULD THE NATION UNDERTAKE SUCH A TASK?

Because until it does there can be no definite upward step in the general conditions of life. Upon what happens in a man's home depends almost everything and if the wife—the pivot around whom every household fact revolves—is worn out with work and worry, broken-hearted with despair at the hopelessness of her condition—where is the possibility of happiness? You may spend millions sterling in building housing estates and huge blocks of flats, moving into them the present dwellers in slums and think it is a job well done; but it isn't finished until you face this great problem of making it possible for the wife of that home to do her work under conditions that are reasonably fair—*conditions as fair as those the Trade Unions see that her husband works under*.

The amazing thing is that in possession of the vote for which the Suffragettes of old fought and went to prison, nothing has been done by women themselves to destroy this evil . . . yet think of it . . . women voters outnumber men.

In the new world we are planning the lives of working-class mothers will be the first care of the nation, not only when the children are born, but during the whole period of their helplessness, i.e. until school age. Work, of course, she must, but with a little thought, her life can be made much more easy and much more delightful, for if such plans eventually come into being, she too will know

leisure—and the beauty of rest, a joy she certainly does not know now.

LEISURE IN ITS RELATION TO UNEMPLOYMENT

Now we have a better understanding of the meaning of leisure and the wonderful possibilities its possession opens out for every man, woman and child living in this land, let us consider it in relation to the problems that must be boldly faced by every one of us if the war is not to be followed by a period of even greater confusion.

As yet we have only considered "leisure" from the viewpoint of the shortened hours of labour that exists to-day in every phase of industry compared with fifty years ago. We have studied the capital value of those millions of hours wrested from employers and have seen how the right use of them by energetic thoughtful men might completely transform the homes and lives of working men and women.

An idealistic dream!

On the face of it, seemingly, yes; but a new factor has come into being—the reawakening of the public conscience regarding the questions of unemployment, slums, poverty and security, that changes the whole aspect.

Nevertheless we have to face a very vital fact. In the normal course of events, within a short period of the coming of peace, Great Britain will probably find herself faced with a burden of 3,000,000 or more wholly unemployed workers.

Three million totally unemployed workers with nothing for their hands to do for a total of 24 million hours daily—24 million additional hours of leisure.

Left to themselves the Government in power would probably have no solution to the problem except the provision of State work for a minimum and a dole for the rest. Such a solution will satisfy neither the unemployed nor public conscience.

Still, the provision of State employment on a big scale is right in principle, but such work must be created in or around the town in which the workers live.

So we accept the basic principle that in order to provide work and a decent wage for every man and woman in this country some form of State work must be part of the solution.

This brings us to the most vital question of all:—are say, 3,000,000 or so unlucky workers to bear the whole burden of sacrifice during the years of national depression no matter how generous the Government aid may be?

The answer is of course No! but what is the alternative?

A clue to the alternative may be found in a practice that has been prevalent in industry for many decades: **SHORT TIME.**

Short time has been accepted for years by workers and employers alike as the fairest “way out” during periods of local trade depression.

Now if “short time” is a satisfactory solution in isolated cases of trade depression why should it not prove equally satisfactory in times of great nation-wide depression?

Further, if the principle of “short time” is combined with the principle of State work to be provided in every town and county, it is possible one has the complete answer to the whole problem of the unemployed.

Here at last is something concrete to work upon, so let us try to visualize the likely sequence of post-war events, from this new viewpoint.

There must of course be a transition period to enable industry to find rock-bottom.

This period will probably last a year or more. In it demobilization will proceed gradually but the time will come when the position will become, to all intents and purposes, stabilized. Industry will have absorbed all the workers necessary to cope with existing output and the

Government will be faced with a known number of wholly unemployed.

When that time comes a wise Government would control the influx of youngsters into the labour market by an extension of school years plus the period of physical training for boys and girls.

It would also accept the principle that the nation cannot afford to allow men and women of 55 years of age and over to be employed while others with 30 or 40 years of active life before them remain idle. So all workers over 55 years of age would be retired with an adequate compensating pension.

Finally, the Government would remove all married women with husbands living from the labour market.

These things done, the Government would then call for "short time" everywhere—in Government offices, in the Civil Service, in factories and workshops, offices, shops and stores ordering a reduction in working hours of, say, 10 per cent.

At the same time an order would be issued insisting that all employers of labour must increase their staff by a similar percentage.

By thus reducing the hours of labour by 10 per cent and increasing the number of employed by a similar percentage the great bulk of unemployed would be absorbed, approximately two millions of them.

NOW FOR THE OTHER SIDE OF THE QUESTION— "STATE WORK"

By the new regulation referred to, workers in every grade of life have, say, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours of new leisure every week.

It is certainly not our idea to give twenty million or so workers an extra four or more hours of leisure each week without compensating restrictions; the idea is that during those new hours of freedom they become the employees of

the State, the Government reimbursing them in war-saving certificates to the value of the lost hours—but *only if the men agree to undertake to work in a great community effort that will be explained later.*

Those who refuse to serve in this effort will simply have to be satisfied with the shorter week and resulting loss of pay.

In this way we reach one of our objects and bring almost the whole man-power of the country into the industrial machine. Thus workers will be faced with an alternative—(a) to accept a shorter week with proportionately less wages, plus war-saving certificates, or (b) a shorter working week with corresponding loss of pay.

It will be explained to the workers that the time thus claimed by the State will be used for the improvement of their homes and conditions of life, also in the provision of many things that would add to the amenities of the whole local community. In other words, the State says this: New leisure has come into your life and rather than see the hours wasted, we will recompense you for those four hours, but only if you will agree to join in a great community effort to raise the standard of life among workers of all classes in this country.

A few lazy-minded are sure to raise difficulties, that is to be expected, but if we read the working-man's mind aright, he will quickly appreciate the greatness of the opportunity and be willing to give even more of his own leisure time to the work.

Of course, it is understood that before such a scheme is made public, the worker's mind must be educated and brought to a full understanding of all the proposal means to himself.

A hint has been given of the desirability of retiring all workers, black-coated and others, nearing the end of their term of life of full activity.

This will be found necessary for two reasons if the nation is to abolish unemployment altogether, for it must not be forgotten that the "shorter hour" policy will only absorb approximately 2,000,000.

Why should elderly workers submit to this sacrifice?

It is not a very difficult question for one who himself comes under that category to answer. Does it not really amount to this; we are of the generation which has given generously of its wealth only when the need was for war, a generosity withheld when the call was for social improvement, education and Empire development?

Well, we have financed three wars, each more terrible and exhausting than the last, and in the process brought our world tumbling about our heels and civilization to such a pass that even now no one knows for certain that it can be saved. It is useless to lay the blame upon governments, for governments are only in being so long as the electorate decree. The blame is ours, let us admit it frankly and, furthermore, recognize that the task of rebuilding our social structure must of necessity fall upon those whose youth and virility are better able to stand up to a stern physical and mental test that may last a long period of years.

Look at it from any viewpoint one will, the blame for the present condition of the world cannot be laid upon the shoulders of youth, so why should they be forced to bear more than they already have?

Parallel with this fact is another: e.g. that the minds of men and women nearing the end of their active lives turn more to thoughts of leisure than of plans and schemes for greater activity. Physically also they have passed their best.

Surely, when one weighs up the pros and cons of these two facts, the evidence can only guide one to the conclusion that—

If, for a period, unless some drastic action is taken, a considerable mass of workers will find it impossible to obtain regular or even any employment, it is not only just, but of vital importance that the burden should not fall upon our virile youth and those of early middle age, but upon those whose activities would in any event end within the course of a few years.

So it is necessary to introduce some plan for the compulsory retirement from all sections of industry, the Civil Service and other Government Departments, of all men and women over, say, 55 years of age.

WILL THE OVER 55'S AGREE

The necessity and fairness of this proposal is obvious. It is agreed that for many years industry may not be able to absorb all the workers in this country; if this is so, it is economically sounder for those nearing the end of their careers to be idle than those virile and healthy men and women just at the beginning or in the early-middle of life. It is unthinkable that this type of men and women should any longer suffer an enforced break in their normal lives. The future of the nation and the Commonwealth depends upon their rapid absorption into the production machine, their secure financial status, their comfort and well-being so that they may wed and reproduce themselves.

Just think of the severe training these men have undergone to make them fit. Indeed, it is doubtful whether ever before Britain has possessed men of such stamina and virility. These men are the fathers of the next generation, and what a generation it should be.

Are millions of such men to be doomed to periods of unemployment with nothing for the hands to do, or brains to think about, while those of us who have passed beyond the call of ambition take the spoils of industry which they saved for us.

If we had lost the war, we older men and women would

have had nothing left to us. Let this fact sink well into our minds when considering the sacrifice such a call upon us would entail.

Mind you, it is not the intention to inflict this sacrifice without adequate compensation. After all, the principle of adequate pensions is in force in all Government organizations, the Army, Navy, Air Force and in particular, the Civil Service. In industry too, the plan operates, also in the railway services.

The only difference is that the proposal brings the retiring age forward by five or ten years. But even this will not be permanent. As industry finds itself, the retiring age would be gradually lengthened until the common standard of 60 or 65 is reached.

The Government and Civil Service must set the example. Those young men of the Air Force and Navy, who saved Britain, have the first claim on Government jobs. They lost valuable years in the service of their country, years which, in the ordinary way, might have been given to study with the very idea of passing into the Civil Service.

THOSE LOST YEARS MUST NOT COUNT AGAINST THEM

Remember the stiff course of intensive training they underwent before they could earn their wings and commissions. If necessary, it should be possible to institute a similar course to fit them for a Government job.

So far as industry is concerned a pension scheme should be introduced which would be self-supporting after a given number of years. With this end in view, contributions must be made both by workers and employers alike. In other words, every shop, factory, office and business organization must be compelled to inaugurate a pension scheme.

Though, for ten or even more years the Government must assist to finance the original scheme, eventually the

given percentage taken from every salary and wage earned in industry will stabilize the plan, particularly as a similar contribution would also be claimed from dividends and profits, thus making every individual benefiting from industry contribute his quota to the common fund.

Now what is to be the amount of this pension per individual?

The principle to follow should be that of the Civil Service which is approximately one-third of current salary. Such a figure would make the scheme acceptable to the majority of men and women concerned, but as the plan includes a vast number of low wage-earning groups, a maximum and minimum must be arranged to eliminate extravagance at the one end and ensure security at the other.

There can be no doubt that the whole question of pensions in its relation to security must be one of the immediate post-war tasks. For instance there can be no logical reason why one class of worker, those in the Civil Service and other Government jobs, should have preferential treatment over those of their less fortunate brothers in industry, many of whom contribute to the cost of those pensions paid by the State.

But it is not only in the question of security in old age that the viewpoint must be changed; there is another equally important one that often means great distress to a very fine type of citizen.

It is the question of the middle-class worker who, through no fault of his own, finds himself without employment and with little or no immediate prospect of securing any.

At first, with inborn optimism and faith in his special knowledge, experience and proved ability, he does not worry unduly, but as the months pass and his bank balance or savings gradually diminish and disappear, he experiences

the agony of despair which comes with loss of confidence and an appalling sense of fear of what the future might have in store.

Such a man suffers the more because he is a cultured being; because his position in life maybe had enabled him to give his wife the luxury of a maid's or even two maids' help and to enjoy with her the many pleasures pertaining to their class and position. Gradually, however, these are stripped from them; even some of the household and personal treasures may have to be sold, and later, and to them with even greater sorrow, the education of their children curtailed.

Such a case came within the writer's experience two years prior to the outbreak of hostilities. The man, a commercial artist, earning £400 or £500 a year, lost his job because of the failure of the studio in which he had been employed for many years. He was a sober, steady and painstaking fellow of about fifty-five years when this catastrophe overtook him. Even so his courage never failed even after a long period of tramping London's streets in the search for work and answering every advertisement that held prospects of success.

To add to his difficulties his wife became a helpless invalid, and with house mortgaged and savings exhausted he had perforce to tackle the problem of nursing her and doing the many household tasks before it was possible to start out on the daily search for work.

It is unnecessary to go into this man's perplexities more fully, for anyone with imagination will know how bitter such an experience must be, especially when it lasts, as this one did, over a period of years. There is, however, a better side to the picture—the almost unbelievable generosity of strangers who heard of the case and helped, anonymously in the majority of instances.

But what it is necessary to drive home is this: Here was

a man who fought in France (1914-18) and endured a term as prisoner of war in Germany. On his return to this country he faced life bravely and quickly re-established himself in his profession. Since then, and until the loss of his job, he paid income tax, was therefore an important cog in the machine of State and will be so again when fortune takes it in her head to smile upon him.

This is no isolated case; we all know others similar and indeed many of us have been through such times ourselves, times when we dare not meet the bravely hidden anxiety and fear that shadowed our wives' eyes or the puzzled questioning in those of our children. If hell can come to men on earth surely it is at such times and the damnable shame of it is, it so often comes to those who least deserve it.

The workers of the great middle class are men who, because of special ability or specialized training, are entitled to a high rate of remuneration and because of this have contributed to the needs of the national coffers through the medium of income tax almost from their youth. Such a contribution is admittedly their duty to the State, *but has the State no duty towards them?*

Surely taking money in taxation from a man in the days of his success and prosperity implies a compensating obligation on the part of the State.

Something must be done about it. It is all very well to plan to give working men the "square deal" that is their right, but is it not the men of the middle class who by their contributions will help to make even that ideal possible? So they in turn must be safeguarded against the unforeseen in this unstable world.

To do so is not difficult. Make the payment of income tax a security against need. To-day the claims upon the individual by taxation are so severe that it is almost impossible for many with fixed incomes to save or provide for the "rainy day." This knowledge has brought a new

fear into the lives of thousands and the Government should banish that fear by assuring to income-tax payers a grant (payable monthly) proportionate to their average yearly payments of this tax, should they become unemployed for a period longer than three months.

Such a decision on the part of the Government would alter the whole atmosphere with regard to this particular tax. The payments would no longer be made with reluctance, rather the reverse, for all such workers would know that if faced with dire necessity those contributions would stand to their credit so long as their need lasts.

A SPLENDID EXAMPLE

It may not be generally known that one of London's largest publishing and printing firms employing thousands of workers recently introduced a pension scheme for which the firm accepted full financial responsibility. The workers were not asked to make any contribution whatsoever. The annual cost to the directors is £45,000, and in addition a further capital sum of £100,000 has been set aside in favour of the elderly members of the staff whose pensions could not be covered by the usual methods of insurance.

ARE ALL CLASSES OF WORKERS TO BE "RETIRED"?

The main object in retiring the "over-fifty-fives" is, as already explained, to make way in industry, the professions and trades for those who have a long period of active life before them and who otherwise might find themselves stranded. Is the plan to stop with the weekly wage-earner, or is it proposed to extend the principle to the higher-paid section of the community?

It certainly is, but with the age limit extended to sixty. Into this group will come men of great brain-power, experience and organizing ability which must prove of

incalculable value to the younger generation in its struggle towards stability and a wiser and better philosophy of life. No matter what has been written here regarding the sins of omission of the generation of which the writer is one, it would be a mistake to depreciate the greatness of these men. Sackcloth and ashes are all very well in their way, but humility can be taken too far and this would undoubtedly be the case if, in the time of its greatest need, the country was robbed of this enormous wealth of brain-power.

What, however, we do expect of such men is that they will give of their experience and knowledge with the same generous self-sacrifice asked of the workers and the wealthy. The battle of reconstruction is not going to be won easily but it can be won if the cumulative resources of Britain's magnificent brain-power is harnessed to the machine and all give ungrudgingly of their best without thinking of reward. Even after retirement such men would find joy in continuing their task voluntarily for they are of the type to whom idleness is an unbearable bore.

Employers personally would not be affected by this policy of enforced retirement.

SYNOPSIS OF THE WHOLE PLAN

FACTS TO BE FACED

1. Trading conditions all over the world will make full-time employment for all an industrial impossibility for a number of years.
2. Factories tuned up for manufacture of war-time necessities cannot return to normal occupations without a lapse of time.
3. Raw materials will be scarce and ships to bring them to these shores equally so.

4. Reconstruction will be the occupation not only of this country but of every country under the sun.

5. Thus recovery will be slower than after the last war.

6. Political confusion will also ensue, the peoples of the world torn by the claims of Democracy, Communism and even new theories yet unborn.

7. In Europe and the Balkans if, as now seems possible, Russia should prove to be the main factor in destroying Hitler's plan of world conquest, it is probable the long-suffering peoples may see in the creed that brought about such a magnificent regeneration in the life of the once equally oppressed Russian peasants, the greatest hope for their own future. To ignore this fact is to deceive ourselves.

8. The squandering of wealth for war purposes has for ever destroyed the delusion of the supreme importance of money. Men in the mass everywhere to-day realize it is they who count and men in the mass will have the last word.

9. Proud though we may be of British grit and power to endure, we have nothing to be proud of in the appalling lack of foresight and organizing ability of democratic governments of this generation.

10. To save ourselves and the British Empire an entirely new outlook is necessary. It is necessary to create a democracy capable of constructive achievements in this country and throughout the Empire comparable with those of communistic Russia.

11. Russia has vast, idle lands; we have them too, but where Russia's idle lands lay in ice-bound regions, Britain's are to be found in the most favourable climates under the sun. Has any other nation such a magnificent opportunity?

OUR ASSETS

A virile population of men and women who still have

at least thirty or forty years of active service before them. They are the nation's greatest asset.

Within the British Commonwealth of Nations are lands and climates conducive to the production of everything—food, raw materials, etc., necessary for the well-being of every man, woman and child living within its borders.

A wealth of experienced men, physically and mentally equipped to bring these two facts into close active relation, to organize and bring the productive resources of the whole Empire to their highest maximum.

Adequate plants of machinery for all purposes.

OUR LIABILITIES

The war will probably leave us a legacy of three or four millions of our most virile workers without employment or prospect of same for an unknown period of years.

A new public conscience that will not tolerate such a catastrophe.

The fact that the men who saved the country, its wealth and great possessions will not be satisfied with a dole. They will demand work: work and security is their right and must be provided no matter the sacrifice entailed by the community at large.

Lost markets overseas. Loss of shipping tonnage plus a great dislocation in home factories and in home trade.

SO ALL MUST SHARE THE BURDEN

Obviously if the nation is to win through to stability and security all must be prepared to accept further sacrifices—

Those in full-time employment by accepting "short time" for a limited number of years.

Employers by limitation of profits for a similar period.

Landowners by providing land at a nominal rent.

The wealthy and middle classes by the continuation of war-time taxation for a limited period of years.

Given these things a 40-hour week should be assured to every worker.

The position thus created means that instead of the nation having three or four millions totally unemployed, disgruntled workers, twenty-two million workers will lose $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours every week, a total of approximately 99,000,000 working hours weekly.

Thus the figure of 3 to 4 million unemployed is more than halved.

Just as no country in a state of transition from war to peace can afford to have a dissatisfied, ill-fed and ill-clothed mass of three or four millions as a background to reconstruction, neither can it afford to lose 99,000,000 working hours weekly.

SO WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The only alternative to the "short-time" policy seems—a dole and possibly an attempt to create State work, e.g. road building, afforestation, etc., etc. The dole will prove unacceptable, BUT THE RIGHT KIND OF CONSTRUCTIVE NATIONAL WORK—YES!

WHAT IS CONSTRUCTIVE NATIONAL WORK?

Almost anything that will improve the conditions under which the masses work and live; that will add to the amenities of their lives, the lives of their wives and children and of generations yet to come.

Remember we are not now dealing with a mass of wholly unemployed but with an additional $4\frac{1}{2}$ leisure hours accepted by a whole working community.

It is then obvious that the constructive national work to be undertaken by all for a minimum period of $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours each week must be created within a reasonable distance of

the workers' homes and work, i.e. in their home towns and surrounding country.

The work must be both Productive and Social.

PRODUCTIVE

Each town would plan to cultivate and produce its needs of vegetables and green stuff; its fruit of all kinds: eggs, honey, etc., etc., by means of a community effort—thus covering the cost of lost earnings.

The harvest would be centrally stored and distributed.

The planting of orchards and fruit farms would be an important feature of the plan, also the erection of jam making, fruit preserving and bottling community centres to deal with the harvest of these orchards.

A "Kew Gardens" in miniature should be a development of this feature in every town—a rendezvous of beauty, inspiration and culture. It would also be the source of seeds, bedding plants, fruit trees, etc.

SOCIAL

Improving the workers' homes.

Beautifying the town and districts, the provision of increased amenities for the enjoyment of the whole community, i.e. bathing pools, sports centres, bowling greens, tennis courts, golf courses, indeed everything man's hands can create if land is available. The pleasures capitalists are willing to provide for profit and the public with money, enjoy.

Above all the aim would be to create a "community" atmosphere, i.e. its your town, your country-side, join in and make it a lasting monument of this generation.

THE WORKERS' VIEWPOINT

Would the Trade Unions or the workers agree to such a solution of the unemployment problem?

Why not? "SHORT TIME," which is all this amounts to, is a common practice in industry during periods of depression, indeed, the writer has known cases where "short time" amounted to a day and a half weekly for a very long period.

Further it must be remembered that without this solution almost every worker may be called upon to face a 10 to 1 chance of being one of the three or four million unemployed, so really the simple loss of $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours weekly is in itself an insurance against unemployment quite apart from the compensations that must arise from the proposed use of that time.

Finally, remember a vast percentage of the earnings of the extra two million workers returns to circulation every week, which in itself will have an important effect upon the recovery of home trade and this in turn will lead to the employment of an ever-increasing number of other workers.

Now let us see whether we can visualize the changes that will come to our towns and villages if this plan should come into effect.

THE PARKS

Very few of the parks and open spaces are put to their maximum use. A few mothers and nurses take children to them for an airing; in the evening perhaps husbands and wives enjoy a stroll after the evening meal and a greater number visit them during the week-end. These remarks refer of course to parks proper, not those portions of them set aside for tennis, bowls, and other sporting activities. There, indeed, one sees a very different picture, the courts and greens fully occupied each evening and week-end at least.

Could we not do more with these parks, something to make them really attractive; something fine that will simply draw the town's inhabitants to them? Of course we

can. One doesn't go to Kew to see tennis or bowls; one goes to enjoy the restful beauty of nature in her most glorious moments, because of the wonderful blooms of all kinds and in particular the flowering trees. Almost every Englishman loves a garden and every Englishwoman flowers, so let one of the first tasks be to replan and replant our parks, creating lovely lawns, flower-beds and glades in which prize flowering shrubs and trees may bloom. Such parks would never be the forlorn empty places they invariably are to-day. Those miniature Kews would fill with happy, beauty-loving crowds and to instil even greater interest each town and county should offer valuable prizes for the best achievement accomplished each year by voluntary community effort.

Then, again, it must not be forgotten we are making a deliberate effort to teach our wives the joys of outdoor life, so more bowling and putting greens must be built and put at their disposal during the daytime; also a bathing pool in each park. In considering these things one has to remember that if each of our parks was run by private enterprise for profit, money *ad lib.* would be spent upon them to attract the moneyed public. We have to visualize our parks in the same way. We have to think of them as the local "Country Clubs" and also to provide in them the same kind of pleasures that make these "clubs" so popular with the wealthy. The land is there; all that is necessary now is labour. Let each borough surveyor create plans and pictures to show how it is intended to remodel and develop those parks and labour will quickly be forthcoming under the "short-time" programme.

What next?

Why, our suburban roads of course.

Away with the ugly wooden fences and decrepit brick walls (thank goodness the iron ones have already disappeared!), away with the privet hedges and laurel bushes.

Just plan for a low brick wall to separate the garden from the footpath and between this wall and the houses let us plan to have a grass verge broken only by a stone path to each house and garage and orderly beds of massed bloom. Those who know Welwyn Garden City will appreciate this picture. For those who do not, just go and stand in one of those long residential roads in the suburbs of your town. Get it into your minds how really ugly are the variety of fencing and the badly kept hedges. Then visualize all those things gone and with them everything that disturbed the line of vision; then in their place picture a long verge of green grass, masses of flowers and flowering shrubs. What a difference such a change would make to our towns; why, even the poorest row of cottages would gain beauty under such conditions, and every house, villa, or cottage attain increased value. Yes, this certainly is one of the jobs to be done with our new wealth of leisure.

So much for beautifying and pleasure. Now for the productive side of the programme.

When approaching a big town in your own or a friend's car have you never felt how ugly and untidy are the acres of allotments that border the road. The whole thing seems entirely without pattern and to make matters worse huts built of wood, or more often, flattened tins, are a finishing touch to a scene entirely devoid of beauty. It is a pity to have to write like this about almost the only example of men's practical use of leisure, but it had to be done, for in this new life we are planning there must be order and there must be pattern and line.

On those allotments, vegetables, all sorts of green stuff, and often fruit and tomatoes are grown. So they are on a market gardener's fields and those fields are rarely, if ever, an eyesore. So we must beautify the existing allotments before we start planning for our community effort on similar lines. We will begin by scrapping the huts and

erecting a well-constructed line of numbered huts all down one side under the hedge. Then we'll raze those rubbish dumps upon which the marrows are usually grown and plan to have it opposite the huts with a well-kept path between. By doing so we will have done away with the two main things which destroyed our pattern and now we have a field divided into equal shapes by trim grass or earth paths. With this beginning the rest remains with the allotment holders. Let them plan to grow their crops uniformly, their peas and beans all in line, their cabbages and potatoes similarly and they'll be surprised at the new beauty that will come over the whole scene. Indeed this kind of planting should be part of the agreement between all allotment holders and the town council.

But only a minority have allotments—what of the others?

Well, they too are going to grow their requirements of all these things, but their plan will follow more upon the lines of a market gardener. In their case what is to be produced will be planned for them, so many acres of potatoes, greens of all kinds, peas, beans, tomatoes, etc., etc. The land will be ploughed up ready for working and they will take their weekly shift of four or four and a half hours in a whole community plan of cultivation. The scheme does not, however, end there; new orchards will be planted, also vast fields of fruit-bearing bushes, and there can be no reason why a community poultry-rearing plan should not be included. There are heaps of things like this that could be done. The fruit of those orchards, for example, will need bottling or turning into jam: that is a task the womenfolk will love to take a hand in, the children too.

Think of these things. If they were actually in being would you not feel that at last you had attained a sense of ownership in that town of yours and of England, and then, when all these tasks are in working order, get to work

and turn more idle land into golf-courses for your own use? It's a grand game and you'll enjoy a week-end round.

Well, do you like this picture?

You smile. It is only natural that you should, so let us picture another scene, one that really happened within the memory of many of us.

It is a long winding stretch of Yorkshire moorland road with heather bespattered grassland undulating away on either side, a lovely, almost primitive scene. The sky is a cloudless blue, no, not quite cloudless for away on the horizon seemingly rising from the very road itself is a cloud, a peculiar cloud that seems to be moving and growing larger each minute. Yes, it is certainly growing larger and, following the course of the road, rolling steadily towards where we stand. Nearer it creeps and then something new comes within one's ken, a buzzing, murmuring sound which is gradually revealed as the voices of men singing, talking, and even moaning. It is men, a vast body of them. Now they are passing us, begging for cigarettes, food, oh—anything we can give them.

Who are these men and whence came they?

They are hunger-marchers from the starving industrial North trekking their way to London. Moneyless, hungry, ill-clad, weary and footsore, they present a piteous sight and the awfulness of it is this is not the only such band, for from Wales, Lancashire, and the Midlands others similar are wending their way to the same Mecca where are the men who alone can help them.

And in London, what is happening there?

More processions, this time from London's own East End and others of its closely populated industrial centres. Processions of unemployed, but this time with banners flying and bands playing. These men are of a different type from the dour hunger-marchers of the North, they

are more aggressive, more insistent as they shout their grievances and repeat the demands already displayed on the banners they carry. They, too, are making for the Mother of Parliaments and they, like their brothers from the North, East, West and South *will find that that "Mother" for all her wealth, will have nothing for her sons, but words.*

So another procession passes; gradually the music, the shouting, and the shuffling of feet fade away, but we are not yet done with music for less than a mile away among the well-clad throngs in Oxford Street a group of five or six shabby men creep, one behind the other, along the pavement edge singing that glorious hymn tune "Aberystwyth" as only Welshmen can. Yes, more unemployed, more heroes of the Great War, begging, starving in this great and rich democratic country that was once the envy of the world.

But hunger-marchers, processions of unemployed, out-of-work miners, singing and begging for coppers amid the wealth and extravagance of London's West End are but part of the picture. Behind these things, hidden from sight, are the homes from whence these men came, homes in which everything that can be sold in order to obtain food, has been sold; homes in which tired, thin and haggard wives who, but a few months before, had thought that if only peace would come and they had their menfolk safely home again life could offer nothing more.

It is not a good picture this, is it? *Yet it happened.*

The main thing to remember however is this: even if Post-War Reconstruction aimed merely to recreate the conditions that obtained immediately prior to the outbreak of war, the work entailed and the cost would still be colossal. But would such conditions satisfy the nation's newly awakened conscience? Definitely no! so surely it would be wiser, easier, and far less costly in the end to build on new foundations rather than attempt to repair the

old rotten structure that failed so miserably and which denied the legitimate aspiration of many millions of mankind.

Money has got to be spent—our money. Let us see to it that no mistake is made this time, for if scenes and events follow this war comparable with those that followed the war of 1914-18, it can only lead to one thing, revolution: an ugly word one hates to write, but one that had to be written if a great danger is to be averted and governments are to be persuaded from their persistent habit of ignoring the common man's claim to live decently—a *desire governments themselves have inculcated by years of enforced education*—to assured employment and full security in the evening of their lives.

After all, what is it that is asked of us? A three or five year period of sacrifice, not of the comforts of life or its pleasures, merely the sacrifice of some of our great wealth of leisure, and of our riches above our actual needs.

Given this sacrifice, what a Democracy, what a country should be in the making!

.

In spite of this great effort it is possible that a vast number of virile workers will still remain unplaced in industry. Their numbers will of course have been reduced by the retiring of the "over-fifty-fives" and the elimination of married women from industry. Nevertheless the number will be large—very large. The proposals already described would represent the maximum effort possible in this country and so for the solution to the remaining problem one must look to the Dominions and Colonies.

The difficulty is that the Dominions are by no means enamoured with immigration schemes, so the matter must be approached in other ways.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMPIRE ALSO HAS A PART TO PLAY

IN dealing with the question of unemployment the important fact of our great resources in land and raw materials overseas must not be overlooked—not from the viewpoint merely of shipping a vast proportion of our surplus population but from the wider one of developing the resources of the Empire to the fullest extent, thereby creating a new and great need for all grades of workers.

This is an age of machines, otherwise it is doubtful whether the problem, certainly in its present world-wide proportions, would have existed. Man and woman were originally placed upon this earth to till the soil; that was the fundamental basis of human existence, and to-day's problem has arisen because men desired something more from life than the soil could give.

The land will always provide means of sustenance for the individual, and it is well to remember this at a time when the country is largely living upon its capital. That there should be unemployed within the Empire at all is intolerable. On the one hand are the vast tracts of the most fertile land it is possible to imagine; on the other, periods when millions of great-hearted men and women, idle and dissatisfied, deteriorate in mind and body.

As one writer says, "it must often seem extraordinary, if not incomprehensible, to other nations, that the English prefer to coop themselves up in an area of little more than 50,000 square miles when, overseas, there are practically empty lands totalling nearly 7,000,000 square miles in extent.

In the Empire development plan outlined in the following pages, it is proposed to create a collective mind big enough to bring these two factors together in a sound plan for the salvation of both. The whole policy explained here is based upon the assumption that somewhere within the boundaries of this vast Empire of ours, upon which we boast the sun never sets, there must be conditions and temperatures approximating those countries upon which we have learned to depend for such vast quantities of our food.

Now let us consider Great Britain's imports from other countries. From the Argentine we import goods, chiefly food, to the extent of £44,000,000; Denmark £32,000,000; Finland £15,000,000; Russia £21,000,000; Sweden £17,000,000.

In each case our exports are unfavourable to this country. From a business point of view, this position is intolerable and it must be possible, with proper organization, proper training, and sound financial backing and policy, to develop sufficient of those vacant 7,000,000 square miles so that they produce at least a big proportion of those things which we buy and depend upon from other countries. It will, of course, be necessary to study scientifically the conditions that exist in each of those countries which enable them to produce so prolifically, and then review the facts of our own Empire in order to discover conditions that are nearly identical. With this knowledge it should then be possible to create a plan for the full organization and development of those lands, their industries and probably new industries, along sound and practical business lines, using the unemployed labour from Great Britain and the Empire, after a period of intensive training.

We have the land, and because of this Great Britain is the envy of the world. Let there be no question of giving

up any of this great heritage, but let us aim to make it so prosperous, so prolific in production that it can absorb not only our own idle workers, *but even a percentage of the skilled idle of other nations*. That is the ideal. That is the policy which brought the United States of America to success, and is the only policy that can justify our holding on to the vast lands we have attained.

Undoubtedly, the task is a big one, for it is true that colonization on a grand scale must fail if all it does is to transport a number of plucky but ignorant men and women to the shores of a distant land.

A DISAPPOINTING EMPIRE POLICY

When one thinks of the disappointing results of all efforts at colonizing in the past, and how many schemes drift into the limbo of forgotten things, it seems foolhardy to tempt Providence by putting new ideas into print. Still, we are an adventurous race, and it is in this spirit the writer attempts to reawaken interest in a problem which so greatly affects the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole.

WHY EMIGRATION SCHEMES FAIL

If British colonizing efforts of the past have proved one thing, it is this—no scheme of Empire development can ever succeed that merely has for its object a mass distribution of Britain's surplus population. Empire development must begin with the creation of a definite long-period programme in each Dominion or Colony. Those in control of these lands alone can decide where the future success of their land lies: in the cultivation of land; the breeding of cattle and sheep; the development of new industries; or in all these things—and others. Therefore, Empire development can only begin in a big and practical way when each Dominion and Colony has faced the future boldly and

intelligently, and created the machinery and organizations necessary for the fulfilment of those ideals.

Then and then only does the question of man-power come into the matter.

Other nations envy us our Empire. Why? Because it eliminates from the midst of the nations comprising the British Commonwealth the problem of excess population? Oh, dear no, because in this it has failed! It is envied because of its untapped resources, and because many another nation believe they could make a better job of the task of developing those resources than we have, and that envy, also "need" has led to the attempt to take them by force.

HAVE WE LOST THE "PIONEER" INSTINCT?

It has been said that the present generation of Britishers have lost the love of adventure and pioneer instinct so long inherent in our race. That this is not true has been amply demonstrated by the lads of the Air Force and the thousands of city youths who so naturally gravitated to the Navy in the nation's hour of peril. It was this that was at the bottom of our troops', sailors' and merchant seamen's cheerful acceptance of the awful conditions and dangers that existed during the last war and are still evident in this. It is at the bottom of the present civilian population's acceptance of the dangers of air bombing with its accompanying destruction of life and homes. Men who can smile and find a grim humour in modern war conditions are not going to be alarmed by the smaller discomforts entailed in starting life in another part of the Empire. But it is their right that such a venture should be embarked upon only when all possibility of failure has been eliminated. This at least we owe them.

To call men from the comfort and security of their homes to take up arms when the State is in danger, and afterwards coolly inform possibly millions of them that there is

no work for their hands to do, is neither worthy of an Empire so rich in resources as ours, nor a tribute to the ability and brain capacity of the men upon whom the running and development of the Empire devolves.

THE DOMINIONS' VIEWPOINT

The importance of a preliminary system of training lies in the fact that the Dominions rarely place difficulties in the way of trained emigrants.

The Canadian authorities have always welcomed the partly trained youngsters from the Barnardo Homes, and indeed give additional training before placing them upon farms. The Kingsley-Fairbridge Schools are also doing good work, and it is therefore fairly obvious while the Dominions may not be inclined to welcome untrained emigrants, the reverse is the case of those even only partially trained in land and farming craft.

We should be prepared to go even further to meet the Dominions in the legitimate fear that widespread and indiscriminate immigration might further complicate their own unemployment problem. In the past the danger has been that emigrants, because of lack of skill and other causes, have shown a tendency to throw up the sponge and migrate to the towns, thereby upsetting the balance of labour, and causing unemployment where hitherto it did not exist to any serious extent.

SKILLED SETTLERS ARE WELCOMED

Now, as it is admitted that the Barnardo Home boys—and girls—are invariably welcomed, may it not be possible to remove most of the Dominions' objections by concentrating a great part of this scheme upon the youth of our land. For some years the youngsters leaving school, particularly the secondary schools, will present a serious problem to those responsible for reconstruction, and if a proportion

of them could be persuaded to train for a life in the Dominions, it would have three important effects:

- (a) Reduce the normal influx into our own industrial machine.
- (b) Remove the necessity of persuading older men to begin life again in a new country.
- (c) Provide the Dominions with the very best human material they could possibly have for the purpose, youths ready and willing to assimilate new ideas and possessing enthusiasm and ambitions that have not been damped or thwarted by the happenings of the past decade.

One more point, and a very important one—the upbringing of these youths will have cost the Dominions nothing. Though it is difficult to assess the actual cost to the nation of bringing a youth or girl to maturity, if we place the cost of education and social services at £250 each, we will not err on the wrong side.

The Dominions will do well to ponder upon this fact, for those idle lands and undeveloped resources cannot be left to the whim of speculators or casual Government schemes in a remote future. Further, whoever is responsible for reshaping the new world—possibly a League of Nations—will not forget that in those lands the Dominions and Colonies guard so jealously are great potentials whose full development may be necessary to the well-being of the whole world.

Agriculture is, of course, only one side of the picture. Many of the Dominions believe salvation lies more in industry. This may be true, but the basic factor must be the land and what it can produce; other things follow as the needs of increased land population create new demands. Develop industries by all means, develop in any and every direction that is to the good of the Commonwealth, but first

of all glean from that wonderful virgin soil the maximum food requirements so essential to the well-being of all.

THE SOLUTION

The word "emigration" is the cause of a great deal of the difficulties that lie in the path of colonization. "Emigration" means "proceeding to another country," and as is only natural, the receiving countries tend to view such newcomers as potential additions to their own economic and social problems. Further, an emigrant is one who leaves a country—a "seeker." To start a colonizing plan from this basis is essentially wrong. The starting must be at the other end, in the receiving country.

Every land within the British Commonwealth of Nations desires an expansion both of its resources and strength. Such an expansion necessitates foresight, long-distance planning, and eventually a progressive influx of skilled and unskilled labour for the consummation of those plans.

Colonization, then, must begin with a plan and in the land it is proposed to develop. Further, in the case of the British Dominions, it is vital for all those plans to be unified and co-ordinated into one mighty non-competitive effort.

THE FORMATION OF A SUPER PRODUCTION, SALES AND DISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The writer has been told by one who should certainly know that no Dominion Government would consent to having any power made over to a Cabinet or Committee sitting in London, which would have authority to pledge them to definite action. If this is so, the difficulties that beset the whole plan are greatly increased. But what can be the cause of such resentment? Only suspicion and mistrust, for it is impossible to include antagonism when the fact of war-time loyalty is so powerfully in evidence.

Further, if there is suspicion and mistrust, then these factors are a source of danger to the future well-being of the British Commonwealth in any circumstances.

After all, the idea is for the representatives of each Dominion to bring to a common table the story of their country's plan for development. Surely it must be for the good of all that the best collective brains within the Commonwealth—men of the stamp of Mr. Mackenzie King—should collectively analyse the resources of the Empire as a whole and each Dominion and Colony separately, planning the right means for their full development, providing the necessary equipment and workers as needed, and finally, deciding and organizing distribution of their products in the right markets, wherever they may be found.

Mark the words "as needed," for this means there would be no flow of workers into any Dominion or Colony until the need for such workers was acute and definite. Further, every worker thus placed would be chosen from those already skilled in the work planned for them or have been specially trained against the time they are needed. The whole scheme is nothing more than an ordinary business proposition on a large scale, and for the time being at least, politics should be kept out of it as much as possible. Maybe, some Dominions will claim confidence in their ability to do all this alone and unaided, but what would be the result? Simply an Empire in which the component parts are competing not only against the world, but also against each other and the Motherland. Remember, competition means rivalry, and who knows where rivalry may lead?

Think of the immense possibilities of such a plan. The trade and resources of the British Empire unified and with its whole activities co-ordinated, would have a greater influence upon world affairs than could otherwise be possible.

One more point before entering into an explanation of the scheme in greater detail.

The events of the past two years have shown how greatly our neglect of the Empire exposed not only the great Dominions and Colonies, but the whole structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations, to terrible dangers. Not one of those Dominions was in a position to protect itself unaided. That such a danger could ever arise is surely a reflection upon the foresight of every British Government of the past, and in particular those in power since 1918. The Dominion Governments must also share the blame, for though Dominion Status may be a sound proposition in the case of fully, or almost fully developed lands, it should not have been overlooked that nations with excessive populations would view uncultivated lands with envy, and that that envy would some day lead to an attempt to capture them. This is not a case of being wise after the event, for practically everything in this chapter was written many years ago.

The theory of Dominion Status is sound, but when those Dominions are but part of a great Commonwealth of Nations, it is a fundamental mistake to view their development in single units instead of a strategic whole, strategic from the viewpoint of security, production and trading. The present system of Dominion development is separatist, not perhaps so much at the moment, but in the future when strength has been gained. Indeed it is a policy of great danger and if the past year has any lesson for us, it is surely the need for closer unity.

But does any danger to the Empire really exist? Is it necessary to remind you that the nations who to-day seek our overthrow and complete destruction based their plans upon the assumption that with their attack upon us, the whole British Empire would collapse. They were wrong, but there were others beside these enemies who feared such

a catastrophe, but they did not know what we Britishers know, that the destruction of the British Empire can never come from without, only from within, and even this danger will utterly disappear when some plan, similar to that outlined here, is actually in being.

As the beginning of a more unifying plan we visualize then the formation of a Board which will function as the Research, Production and Marketing Board of the Empire. In conjunction with every Dominion and Colony concerned this Board will produce a plan for the full development of the resources of the Empire as a whole.

The job consists of knowing and recognizing what is needed in every land—large or small—comprising the British Commonwealth of Nations to bring that land into full economic power.

The only men capable of undertaking such an enormous task are those who have first-hand knowledge of the needs of that land, possess wide vision, and the necessary driving force to see the job through, no matter the difficulties, disappointments and obstacles that may be met; in other words, the best men in every nation forming the British Commonwealth of Nations must be called to the task collectively. Each should bring to a common table the story of their country's plan for development. Collectively, their job will be to form an Empire Policy, which takes into consideration all those plans and provide the machinery, organization and labour to bring those plans into being and complete fulfilment. Mind you, the men to whom the work is delegated may not be able to see it through because the task is colossal and may take twenty or more years, but even if it takes fifty and the job is well done, this generation will have done something which will utterly change the outlook of the generations yet to come.

Such a job cannot be done piecemeal. Once the big plan—complete Empire development—has been agreed

upon, decentralization of effort must ensue. There is a Canadian problem, an Australian, Indian, South African—and many another problem. The first task is to know them, tabulate them, decide upon the right solution, and then tackle them individually.

Such planning should eventually banish for ever every prospect of danger both within and to the Empire, also all possibility of unemployment from within it.

THE SCHEME THEN AIMS AT TWO MAJOR THINGS:

1. The maximum organized development of the land and industries of the Empire.
2. The elimination of unemployment in the Mother Country and the lands of the British Commonwealth.

Are these aims possible?

Can one doubt it? If one does, let him consider the question from another angle; that of land-starved nations. Would *they* be content to adopt the very casual systems of development employed by the British? For example, one's mind goes back to the time when much of the land comprising the United States of America was a colony of Great Britain, and the question at once arises in the mind:

"If the United States had still remained a colony of Great Britain, or, as probably would be the case to-day, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, would her progress and her eventual rise as a great industrial Power have been possible under British rule?"

The writer has asked many this question, and the answer is always the same, a definite "no," but he must admit this "no" is often qualified by a reminder that even the U.S.A. has a serious unemployment problem.

It is not that we fail to realize the unusual possibilities of this Empire of ours, but rather that the job of organizing has proved much too big for the men entrusted with the

task. For example, this particular scheme was submitted to the Dominions Office several years ago, and returned with a chit attached, not deriding the whole scheme as impracticable, but asking the amazing question—"where is the money to come from?" So you see, in the minds of past governments, cost has been the bar to development, yet men in such responsible positions should at least know the elementary fact, that undeveloped lands are one of the primary causes of envy in nations lacking such resources—particularly lands so rich in resources as those we are neglecting. That chit, also the scheme, was thrown aside in disgust that the British Colonial Secretary could not, or would not, see that if the scheme was sound—and he did not infer that it was not—*then, no matter what the cost might be, the capital expended would prove to be the finest investment the world had ever known.*

Since then, we have been forced to embark upon, and finance a war to save Europe. In our hearts, however, we in Britain also know we are fighting to save our Empire; and the Dominions, for their very existence. No question in this case of how the money will be found—it's got to be found, and no one grudges the cost. That is how we must view the question of Empire consolidation and development if the danger of its breaking up into separate entities is to be totally eliminated.

GREAT BRITAIN'S PART

As the unemployed of Great Britain will form the reservoir from which both skilled and unskilled workers would be drawn as necessary, let us consider the ways and means by which she would prepare herself for the task.

In the matter of agriculture we have in Britain the nucleus of an organization that could be quickly developed into the machinery of this great colonizing effort, i.e. the numerous Agricultural Colleges and Centres now dotted

about the country. These colleges and centres are staffed with keen experts upon the scientific and practical side of agriculture. They are men and women whose minds are trained to understand the problems of agriculture wherever they may be found, and around whom it should be possible to construct an efficient and practical preliminary training scheme for that section of Empire development.

At the moment, the majority of them are engaged in experimenting and teaching, also training the new army of land-workers, but once Peace comes, the country must spare them from this work for a few years to the greater tasks ahead.

Success in any sphere of life depends first of all upon knowledge. In agriculture particularly, success only follows when Colonists know the conditions under which they will have to toil and the right method of overcoming the difficulties that have to be met. Who better equipped to teach prospective colonial farmers than these men and women of the Agricultural Colleges? Not yet, perhaps, because they themselves must first learn from those who have wrested success out of the land it is proposed to colonize and further develop.

FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE ESSENTIAL

So the first task of the British members of the Empire Development Board must be to search out these agricultural experts and send them in groups to every part of the Empire for special intensive training directly the Dominions have completed their plans, even if the home colleges and centres are temporarily closed. Let groups of them be sent to Canada and to other Dominions to study under the experts there, the needs of that Dominion, and the conditions under which colonists would have to work, and with them formulate some simple plan to bring each Dominion under maximum cultivation.

Agricultural experts in each Dominion will know the

number of acres their Government have decided can be brought into new cultivation each year, and how success may be achieved.

The British experts must be content to learn of them and be ready to cast aside any preconceived notions that may prove impracticable under the test of knowledge of local conditions. They must go to the Dominions with open minds because on their return to this country they will be expected to impart the knowledge they have gained to the students of their old colleges, and thus form an important teaching staff around which the whole colonization scheme will revolve. Part one of the scheme then will provide a given number of groups of agricultural experts, each group having an intimate knowledge of the land problems of one Dominion. Each member of the group will be capable of training batches of say fifty specially selected men from among the unemployed. The training will be standardized and should not occupy more than three months. Thus, if 1,000 teaching centres are formed in England, 50,000 men and women will be ready to leave the centres at given intervals agreed between Great Britain and each Dominion say, every three months. Multiply the number of centres and the number of students increases accordingly.

THE DOMINIONS' PART

Section two of the scheme lies in the creation of similar centres in all the Dominions to receive the groups of fifty as they leave the English training centres.

The position of these centres is a question for each Dominion; they should, however, be widely spread, and situated in suitable areas within reach of the railways or good roads. Each centre would begin as the final training school to which the British semi-trained colonist would be sent. Here they would work for a further three months on the identical type of soil upon which their livelihood will

ultimately depend, gaining knowledge, technique and confidence. On the conclusion of the three months, either in groups or singly, they would be granted land actually adjoining the centre in which they have been trained. Thus all fifty are linked together and can help one another, and more important still, remain closely in touch with the man finally responsible for their training.

From a given date then, every three months should see a flow of semi-trained, unemployed men and women from the agricultural centres in this country to the centres in selected Dominions, and similarly a flow from the Dominion centres to the land itself. Thus, until saturation point is reached, an ever-widening area comes into cultivation under an agreed plan. The crops are cleared in each case through the medium of the original training centre to national granaries or stores for disposal. The term "crop" is used to describe output. It may be the growth of cereals, dairy produce, fruit, or even the breeding of pigs and cattle. What each centre shall produce will be determined, of course, by the Empire Development Board, in agreement with the Dominion Government in question.

It doesn't matter for a year or two, whether this output is paid for in cash or exchanged for goods from the Home Country, the scheme would have made an ever-increasing number of settlers independent and opened out a new and secure future for their families.

Now visualize the scheme in a big way. Think of the centres such as have been described, multiplied a hundred-fold.

Through this number of centres an enormous number of men and women could be trained and absorbed in agriculture alone for a given number of years. In addition to this number others would be employed in the new factories and industries necessary to provide the needs of this new population.

Thus as the years pass, so will new developments come into being and absorb more and more labour.

Perfect organization and goodwill on the part of both Great Britain and the Empire overseas is called for. The Dominions must reveal their plans for the future, and agree to provide the information and training it is vitally necessary for our original group of experts to have. They must also choose the right centres and supply the teaching staff in order that the new colonists may have a 100 per cent chance of success. For a few years the colonists must be absolved from all responsibilities regarding the disposal of their output, their task, at least for a time, must be the simple one of production—the disposal a matter for the Empire Development Board to handle. In considering the question of unemployment in the mass, one is apt to lose sight of the fact that if one-third of the unemployed can be found productive jobs, a large proportion of the remainder become *automatically absorbed into the industrial machine*.

Another point to be remembered is that by decentralization, each unit of fifty will come from a given district; they will have learned to know each other, and reach their new homes as a unit, and not as a group of strangers among strangers. Subsequent units from the same districts will join them at three-monthly intervals, thus each Settlement will be populated by men, and later on, their families, from different towns and counties of England, thus forming a new Reading, a new Brighton, Nottingham and so on.

This fact will give the new settlement a definite link with a home town, and there can be no doubt that the money necessary for their welfare will be largely subscribed by the home town. Further, it should be possible to organize a system by which the produce of the new Reading, for example, may be exchanged for the manufactures of the home town; biscuits, seeds, agricultural machinery, clothing, etc., all of which are made in that town.

NOW LET US STUDY THE PLAN IN DETAIL

In simple words the plan reversed the whole process of emigration. It begins not with uninvited emigrants taking a gamble, but by so planning to develop the resources of a Dominion that the import of new mass labour becomes a vital necessity.

A permanent central Research, Production and Marketing Board for the Empire must be created.

The Board would consist of the greatest men of vision and driving force from every Dominion and Great Britain.

Their task is to plan the development of the resources of the Empire as a whole and organize its distribution.

In conjunction with the local Governments, to institute Investigation Boards in every Dominion to study their resources and devise a firm programme of development over a period of 25 years—probably in five-year sections.

As these Dominion reports reach the Empire Board they would be studied individually, also as a whole to prevent overlapping and over-production, and recommendations *re* eliminations, curtailments and alternative plans would then be sent to the Dominion Governments. As the outcome a working plan should result in which every Dominion would take an organized part in providing for the needs of the whole Empire, and eventually have a surplus for export to other lands.

These developments in every Dominion would necessitate new factories in each. Further, more and more workers would be required, both skilled and unskilled, male and female. The unemployed of Great Britain would form the reservoir from which these would be obtained once the unemployed in each Dominion are absorbed.

This development of the full resources of each Dominion would also mean the creation of new factories to provide for the needs of the ever-increasing growth of

industry and of course, populations, and the Empire Board would use their influence to persuade British manufacturers to open branch factories in the Dominions as the necessity arises, thus spreading the business of manufacture over the whole Empire instead of within the congested area of Great Britain.

In planning this great industrial and agricultural development, the Empire Board would have as its ideal so developing the resources of the Empire that it would eventually provide almost all the needs of the peoples living within its bounds. Therefore, as the Board would know in advance the estimated surplus output of each Dominion, i.e. the surplus over that Dominion's own needs, it must also know where, within the Empire and elsewhere, that total surplus could be absorbed. The Empire Board would have at its disposal the import figures of Great Britain and the Empire for all these things, and others. The Empire Board would therefore study these import figures and visualize where within the Empire the climate and land were suitable for the cultivation of any particular class of food now imported. They would advise the suitable Dominion or Dominions of this investigation and suggest means being taken for the eventual supplying of their quota to this market.

The investigations the Empire Board would set in motion would be in two parts—Agriculture and Industrial.

With regard to Agriculture, this again would be subdivided:

(a) The Land.

(b) The provision of an ever-increasing number of trained workers.

If it is true that in every Dominion, as in the case of the U.S.A. over-tractor-ploughing and faulty crop rotation have brought about a serious deterioration of the land, evidence of which is given on a later page, the Empire Board should create a Committee of Experts from Great

Britain and each Dominion to study this question and submit plans to overcome or avoid recurrence of this serious fault.

CROP PRODUCTION

The plan, of course, would be to widen the area under cultivation until the maximum is reached.

One of the main problems would be skilled labour.

GREAT BRITAIN'S PART

EXPERT TRAINING OF POTENTIAL SETTLERS AN ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS

1. To provide for this the Empire Board would send from this country to each Dominion, Agricultural Experts, i.e. the best men from the teaching staff of our Agricultural Colleges, to learn from the experts there the essential facts of successful crop production in that land.

2. On their return to this country these experts (now with special knowledge of the needs of the land of one Dominion) would become the pivot around whom a huge training scheme would be evolved.

3. In no case would untrained men be sent to any Dominion.

4. Settlers would only be sent to a Dominion when that Dominion is ready to absorb them.

5. Being State employed, the possibility of settlers becoming a liability cannot arise.

TRAINING LAND SETTLERS

6. In groups of fifty they would be drafted to British training centres to undergo tuition by one of the experts who have already studied farming and soil conditions in the Dominion to which they would be sent.

7. This part of their training would occupy three months,

8. Training concluded, the whole fifty would be sent to

a similar training centre in the Dominion for a final course, another fifty taking their place in the Home centre.

9. For this final period of training the settlers would be under the guidance of the Dominion expert who would be responsible for their future activities.

IN THE DOMINIONS

10 The Dominions' training centres should be placed in the centre of the area planned for cultivation under the scheme.

11. As the trainees become proficient, land radiating around that centre would be apportioned to groups of men or individuals. Thus each group, or man, would be in close contact with the expert who has trained him.

12. The suggestion of "groups" indicates a community profit-sharing system, possibly the best way for ultimate success of the whole scheme.

13. As each group arrives from Great Britain an ever-increasing area comes into cultivation, ceasing only when the quota decided upon is reached.

14. Cultivation must not be taken to mean cereal products alone, but everything the Central Board and the Dominion Government have planned to produce under the scheme. Thus while a vast proportion of the acreage may produce cereals, other farms may be concerned with the breeding of sheep, cattle, pigs, poultry, etc., while on other suitable land huge orchards equipped with jam-making and fruit-preserving plants would come into being.

15. Thus new industries would be created calling for both skilled and unskilled labour, all of which would come from the Empire "unemployed" reservoir.

16. For the first few years at least, settlers would be concerned only with "production." All produce would be cleared through the medium of the Training Centre to the Dominion Marketing Board.

HOUSING AND SOCIAL AMENITIES

17. For the first year after arrival the settlers would probably be housed collectively in huts, so efficient facilities for catering must be provided.

18. In the meantime housing estates must be planned and built so that second-year men may be joined by their wives and families. In such estates, shops, a cinema and village hall must be provided, also, of course, places of worship.

19. All centres thus created must be linked up with existing railways and roads to ensure quick and economical transport.

INDUSTRY

Now it is obvious that in the creation of these food-production centres new industries will arise to cater for the needs of these communities. New roads and railways will have to be built, also factories and workshops for the manufacture of farm materials, boots, shoes, clothing and harness. Further, in centres created for the breeding of cattle, sheep, etc., new refrigerating storage plants will be necessary, and where canning and preserving is undertaken new factories, indeed the organization will be so vast as to provide work for immense numbers of people of both sexes. The same remarks, of course, apply in the case of fruit growing and preserving.

RESERVOIR OF LABOUR

- (a) Unemployed ex-service men of the Dominions.
- (b) Unemployed ex-service men of Great Britain.
- (c) Young skilled craftsmen of Great Britain who would see in this development the opportunity of their lives.
- (d) Professional men, architects, surveyors, engineers, technicians and other experts possessing finances

sufficient to cover own expenses, also cost of living for, say, twelve months.

- (e) Partially trained youth of both sexes on completion of education.

CAN THE EMPIRE BE SAVED WITHOUT UNIFIED ACTION?

Is it not necessary to view the British Commonwealth of Nations from the viewpoint that some day each Dominion will become a strong, fully equipped nation with its resources developed to a high level? England is the Motherland and will always be so, but are those great sons of hers to get into the habit of only thinking "Dominionally"; is it not vitally important that they and Great Britain should see in the British Commonwealth something greater even than their own success?

It would be a terrible thing if, when they come to full maturity, these Dominions should believe they have gained strength and power enough to throw off the last shackles, except sentiment, that bind them to the Motherland. That they should gain strength we earnestly desire and should do our utmost to help in its attainment, but only as part of a greater strength—the British Commonwealth.

They deserve well of us, do these sons overseas. The events of the past two years and those of 1914-18 prove this. How better to reward them than by strengthening the bond which ties them to us and we to them.

As the writer sees it, the day must come when the Dominions must be given a say in the government of the British Commonwealth of Nations by the creation of an Empire Cabinet or Senate upon which would devolve the whole management of matters pertaining to the Empire. The Empire Research, Production and Marketing Board will be the forerunner of this; indeed this Board's activities will ultimately make such a Cabinet or Senate imperative.

Indeed, would it not be possible to go even further, and alter the King's title to King of the British Commonwealth of Nations. England, Great Britain, would lose something by the change, but she would gain more. Where would she be to-day had not these sons of hers rallied around her in her need? She dare not be blind to the fact that the whole world is changing, and will change more; and in this changing world a very real danger to Great Britain will still exist, unless the Empire is welded in closer bonds of unity than at present. The suggestion of an Empire Cabinet or Senate does not necessarily mean any alteration in the present status of any Dominion. Such a Cabinet would not necessarily interfere with the domestic politics of any member of the Commonwealth, nor that of Great Britain; it would, however, lift Commonwealth government above the realms of British politics, and it is interference from Whitehall that the Dominions seem to resent more than anything.

The Empire Cabinet or Senate would always be in session in the capital of the Commonwealth—London.

Such an action on our part would give a new meaning to the words "Commonwealth of British Nations." Under such direction the Empire would go from strength to strength and in all parts of it workers from other lands, within reasonable limits, should find a welcome. Canada is visualized as a second United States—a great wheat-growing, food-producing and industrial country.

Australia maybe presents greater problems, particularly in the North. Australians apparently believe that nothing can be done about huge tracts of land in Northern Australia; indeed, some years ago, in the writer's hearing a member of the staff at Australia House definitely stated this was so.

"But," someone queried, "if Australia belonged to Japan would she think the same?" and he answered "No!" rather an enlightening remark in view of recent happenings in

the Pacific. Anyway, such a problem should not be too big for a permanent Empire Cabinet of experts who would take into consideration both the needs of the Empire and the world at large. The potentialities of Africa are too well known to need emphasizing.

One thing remains certain: with nearly all European countries needing raw materials and scope for expansion, we dare not allow the lands we own to lie idle, and maybe in solving our own problems we may permanently save the peace of the world.

Probably the first task of such an Empire Cabinet would be to advocate a system of Free Trade within the Empire. Indeed, the free interchange of goods within the Empire is of paramount importance to the whole scheme. Tariffs within the Empire have always seemed ridiculous, as if the natural barriers were not sufficient and difficult enough that we must create artificial ones that confuse and separate. Surely there can be no more reason for tariffs between England and Australia, Canada, South Africa and our colonies than between England and Wales or Scotland.

IN PASSING

Already To-morrow Walks, by A. G. Street, gives one a wonderful insight into questions pertaining to land. Frankly, one is amazed to read that almost without exception each of our Dominions has at one time or another been faced with those same serious difficulties which obtain in certain American States because of excessive tractor ploughing and the unceasing growth of wheat.

Reading Mr. Street's book one becomes more and more convinced of the need for co-ordinating the whole productive wealth of the Empire and the need of a permanent expert Empire Board to deal with the whole question.

With reference to South Africa, he says the experiences of one of his characters were as follows:

"He saw a lot of good farming and a lot of bad, and in addition, thousands of acres of once rich pastoral country which was now semi-desert. But he also found something else—a general realization of the seriousness of the problem. Politicians, town business men, professors at agricultural colleges, and the best farmers—all were very emphatic that the spreading of the desert was the most urgent political problem in the Union. Everywhere he travelled it was freely admitted that the land had been wrongly managed and mercilessly exploited, because in the early days nobody had foreseen the consequences."

In Australia the same story continues.

"The major cause of the rapid deterioration in such a vast acreage of once good farming land was human greed allied to a childish belief in the concept of infinity. The early settlers had assumed there was more than enough good land for everybody, and their descendants had imagined that such conditions would always obtain. Rabbits, wind, lack of rainfall, and poor prices were contributory factors, but the short-sighted policy of selfish farming was the chief cause of the trouble.

"High prices for wheat led to the most scandalous overcropping . . . worse than that. The Mallee is a light sandy soil, and when the original humus was worked out, the wind got busy. I'm told that wind erosion happens faster here than anywhere in the world. Anyway, it's much too fast. And then the soil-laden rivers break their banks and lay waste thousands of acres of land with water that is urgently required elsewhere."

And then Canada.

"Saskatchewan was dry, powder dry, and the hot winds were killing thousands of acres of crop daily. There was no green, no keep, and almost no hope. Everywhere the country-side seemed to be peopled with disappointed middle age. There was the same patient courage at which Jim had marvelled in Kansas, but here all the spring seemed to be gone from the people. Farming parents were trying their utmost either to get their children into town employment, preferably under government, or what seemed worse still, to send them back to relatives in England.

"Alberta was in like case, especially the southern part of that province. As they drove through a parched country-side, the dust was rolling everywhere save in the strip farming, which, with its alternating streaks of crop and fallow, had given a 'nougat-like' appearance to the country-side. Sometimes the farmhouses were deserted, with drifts of soil and a tangled mass of weeds covering derelict implements. Sometimes the farmer and his wife were just managing to hang on, and as they journeyed they talked with scores of broken men and tired, such tired women."

Those are the words of an experienced observer; if you would really like to know how terrible are the effects of such events upon the individual farmer and the thousands of land workers concerned, read *Grapes of Wrath*, by J. Steinbeck. You may not like the language his characters use, but their experiences demonstrate vividly what happens when "big money" and the banks attempt to control and force nature in the matter of the people's food.

90

,

pro
du
wit
'nc
far
of
an
jou
su

wi
su
of
J.
u
w
fc

CHAPTER FIVE

DEMOCRACY AND YOUTH

Is it necessary to emphasize that in all this planning our thoughts are mainly concerned with the future of the younger generation? It is for them we plead for a more virile democratic system of Government, it is for them we demand the immediate finding of a solution to the problem of unemployment even at the sacrifice of the elderly; for them also is our Empire planning; and it is they who must be taught the wisdom and necessity of subordinating self for the good of the community.

When this war is over will our type of democracy stand up to the test that is assuredly coming? Will it satisfy our youth in the face of the great achievements of Russia? It won't, because it is not a true democracy. There cannot be true democracy and classes, and true democracy will not come until the whole of our educational system is revised. To begin with, the money factor must be lifted from our Public Schools, Universities, Military and Naval Colleges, etc. This must be another of the principal tasks in post-war Britain. Talented but poor boys and girls must have an equal chance with those backed by riches for the more important posts in the Diplomatic and Civil Service; the boys, for Commissions in the Navy, Army and Air Force.

What would such a revolutionary change succeed in doing?

Hitherto it has seemed to be the accepted theory among our ruling classes that "breeding," whatever that may mean, and the possession of unlimited money, plus a "Varsity," Military or Naval College training must necessarily discover those best fitted to represent the

country in other lands and lead our armed forces in times of war and danger.

The truth is that none of these things prove that, given equal opportunity, even better and more capable men are not to be found in more humble places. Breeding, Public School or University education and money do not always produce brains. The greatest brains come also in other ways, and opportunity must be given to that type of boy whom nothing seemingly can stop from succeeding, for devoting those talents and energies to the purposes of the nation rather than to business and profits.

THE BOY WHO CAN'T BE KEPT DOWN

Britain is full of men, who, beginning life without even the proverbial penny, have forged their way to the top in Industry, Science and the Arts. It is not the making of money that appeals to them so much as the achievement. They have something the moneyed classes rarely possess, an unfailing belief in themselves, their destiny and ultimate success plus abundant untiring energy. Whence this confidence comes must be a mystery, but it is there, often from childhood, and the nation cannot afford that all this ability should be guided merely to the pursuit of profit or personal achievement.

An educational system which ends at 14 or even 16 years of age can never discover these budding geniuses. Indeed, the best of them develop later, and if education is to achieve its great object, the final years of study must be more specific and have for its aim the discovery of those with talents in a particular direction. Up to the age of 12 to 14, education should be more simple and concentrated chiefly upon teaching the child to read, write, spell and to do elementary sums. From 16 to 18, studies, even if they are confined to evening classes, should definitely aim to train obviously talented students for (a) a University, and

the higher Civil Service, Military or Naval College scholarships, or (b) technical studies that will facilitate entry into the professions, Civil Service or industry.

Will the Universities, the Military and Naval Colleges welcome their unlimited intrusion into the prerogatives of wealth and breeding?

Possibly not, but the change must come in spite of this.

The Naval and Military Colleges belong to the nation. They are in being for the safety of the State, not to provide professions and incomes for a class, and the facilities they possess for training and guiding must be available to all possessing the necessary brain-power.

At the moment almost the only outlet for the "boy-who-won't-be-kept-down" is in industry. In the new world in the making the nation needs him for greater things than mere money-making and he must have his chance.

Now for a story—a true one. A well-known London business man welcoming two new directors to his board told them there were two other directors, both Public School men, and, as he put it, damned fools, but they had money. That was in 1917.

Asked where they were, he replied that one, a "Varsity" boy, was on "the British Military Staff," the other had business interests.

That "Varsity" boy came back and joined the business, a delightful man, but incapable of holding any responsible position.

The other directors referred to were all of the old Board School type, self-made men with brains. If they were called up for military service, as indeed one of them actually was after the conversation referred to above, their destiny would be in the ranks where their organizing and brain-power would never find means of expression.

Now for the climax to the story. 1939. War again

declared, that "Varsity" director almost useless in business again joins up and, as the writer was told, returned to his "Staff" job.

So you see when the country is in peril the man who in industry leads becomes subordinate to the possessors of famous school ties. It is not right; it is not democracy; and such democratic government cannot exist amid the new and virile theories which are in being in almost every part of the world. Say what one will, the achievement of Russia, her renaissance, her virile tackling of almost impossible problems, is making men think, and if ever the day comes when educated men and women, despairing of the slow progress of democracy, come to the conclusion that it is out of date in a modern world, then God help England. But democracy is not out of date, it is only Britain's particular method of applying the principle that is wrong and out of date, and will perforce have to be revised and brought into line with educated mass thought.

Great Britain will not become a true democracy until "Old School Ties" are banned from manufacture and existing stocks collected and destroyed. Character and ability is not a matter of colour or sartorial oddities. In this new democracy those with "breeding," "tradition" and other advantages would still have the pull over their poorer brothers and given equal brain capacity need have no fear from this wider democratic vision.

But let us return to the subject of Youth and see what the future we are trying to visualize has in store for them.

We have already planned for what to all intents and purposes is a five-day working week with an additional half-day at least given to town improvement and the provision of amenities that will raise the adult workers standard of life very considerably.

So far as the boys and girls under 21 years of age are concerned, they will not come under the scheme proper

until they are 21—if at all, but as it is they who in the future will reap the greatest benefit from the whole scheme, they too must be persuaded to use their leisure profitably.

So far as they are concerned, the additional hours of leisure, and as many more as they can be induced to give, should be largely devoted to education in its widest sense.

THE CRITICAL YEARS 18 TO 21

Few will dispute the contention that generally speaking, *education ends just when the age of enlightenment is reached*: it is often only when a youngster has had a year or two in commercial or industrial life that the real value of knowledge and education is appreciated. The period 18–21 is extremely critical. What happens then may easily govern the whole after-life; further, in the case of youngsters who have started work, an additional $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and as many more as they can be persuaded to give, for education each week may have a tremendous effect upon not only their future but also that of generations to come.

Once it is definitely known that a child's education will continue until the age of 21 years a complete change in the present curriculum will be essential. More time will surely be given to such elementary yet vitally important subjects as reading, writing and arithmetic; indeed, until a child is reasonably proficient in those subjects, all others must be beyond its comprehension, and it is therefore better for the whole original period of school life up to the age of 14 to be spent in trying to master them than to be wasted in an utterly futile effort of trying to learn something even more difficult.

For example, take a school of 200 or 300 children coming from homes of varying character; from the slums, working class and middle class. It is impossible to imagine that one can standardize a system of education by which all can benefit equally; of course one can't. Whatever the standard

adopted it must be too high for some and too low for others, there can be no half-way. Take the ordinary curriculum¹ of a Council School—arithmetic, algebra, mensuration, composition, dictation, literature, reading, writing, history geography, music, physical training, handicraft (boys), domestic science (girls), cookery, science, nature study, experimental chemistry, drawing, scripture . . . how many of the children really benefit by their lessons in all these subjects, and how necessary are they for the occupations for which many of them are definitely bound?

No one in his right mind desires economies so far as real education is concerned, but is it sound to finance a system based upon the assumption that every child will respond to a first-class education? No one wishes to limit the opportunities of any child, just the reverse, but where is the sense of forcing a child to take advanced subjects *until it has become perfect in the elementary ones*.

Every child has its limitations somewhere, and it should be easily possible for a competent teacher to discover where that point is in every child.

As stated before, a definite number of elementary school children are destined to work in unskilled trades. All teachers could point out those of their scholars for whom such a future is certain. Now the simpler the education given this type of child the better, a fewer number of subjects, but a much longer time in which to learn them. A really good knowledge of reading, writing and simple sums and handicrafts is really all that will tend to make their lives happier, and if they can be made proficient in these subjects by the time they reach school-leaving age—16 years—a good job of work has been done.

But educational enthusiasts will say—"you can't limit their lives like that." To this the answer is—"go to any

¹ This curriculum was given the writer by the head master of a London elementary school.

factory; take the average boys and girls engaged in unskilled labour who left school twelve months ago and question them; you'll find that the majority of them have forgotten almost everything they are supposed to have learned. They can neither write an intelligible letter nor do a simple sum, and the fact is a disgrace to the present system.

With regard to the youngsters of working age—between the ages of 16 and 21—the subjects of their enforced education must, of course, be such as will help them in the career they have chosen. Every effort, however, must be made to persuade them to continue their studies of English, both written and spoken; it is only thus that education can have any real meaning.

This section of the scheme—dealing with youth of both sexes up to the age of 21 years—is surely more important than any other, because it is through these youngsters that the whole plan may find fruition. In dealing with adults one is up against prejudices, ignorance, ingrained habits, jealousy of freedom and suspicion of all up-lift.

These youngsters, however, are of a different category. When they reach the age of 21 they will be boys and girls to whom “pride of achievement” has been dinned into as one of the great things in life; they will have been educated and trained as no children of their class have ever been trained before and many of them will have seen in their own homes and towns the great improvement in conditions that has come about since mother has been assured of leisure and rest, and father has learned to make proper use of the new leisure that has come into his life. No matter what happens to that part of the scheme which deals with grown men and women, if the men fail we can surely depend upon this first batch of youngsters taking the scheme to full success directly they reach maturity.

It was Hitler's recognition of the importance of concentrating his main effort upon the young that gave him

his greatest achievement. He certainly had vision, and though he has used the great loyalty he created in the minds of the youth of Germany mistakenly and even criminally, his initial idea was undoubtedly great.

With regard to the training of these young people, at least part of the time must be devoted to handicraft. It is important to instil into them a love of doing things with their hands, not for gain but for pride of achievement.

A MOROCCAN EXAMPLE

Once the love of doing things is inculcated the habit will never die and indeed it is possible to visualize a race of craftsmen even greater than those of the past. One of the most wonderful examples of the training of children, is to be seen at Tetuan, the delightful old world walled city in Spanish Morocco, at the Orphanage School of Arts and Crafts. The school is the Moorish King's pet hobby.

Here the children from the ages of eight are taught the ancient arts of the Moors—woodcarving, mosaic work, hammered brass work, carpet and rug making, the weaving of fabrics, cabinet making and similar crafts. Their proficiency is something to make one think. Little curly-headed black kiddies of eleven and twelve can be seen producing work that would have seemed marvellous if it were the achievement of a mature artist. Indeed, the exhibit of their work was one of the sensations of the Madrid Exhibition some years ago.

We all know those huge brass trays with elaborate rococo patterns traversing their entire area. In that Moorish school boys of not more than twelve produce those patterns without the slightest evidence of any traced guide upon the metal to help them; all each one has is a small hammer and engraving tool, and he cuts his pattern into the metal direct with a precision that is truly amazing.

Others were weaving carpets of immense size and intricacy; others, fabrics that were a sheer delight. If you doubt the possibility, then go to Tetuan, sit in the show-rooms, among the magnificent works of art produced by these boys, and you will come out feeling very humble, but with a feeling of great respect and admiration for the foresight of the king who has made such a school possible. Nowhere in England, is its like—yet 87 million pounds are spent annually in elementary education—a good half of it futilely.

If, between the ages of 8 and 16 years, black children can be turned into skilled craftsmen, what is the limit of achievement the more favoured youngsters of this nation might reach?

So let us plan to continue the education of all young people until the age of 21, giving part-time education between the ages of 16 and 21, allowing to a large extent, each boy or girl to choose the subjects that will give the greatest benefit in the career they have chosen to follow.

THE B.B.C. SHOULD HELP

Particular pains have been taken to emphasize the importance to the State during the period of reconstruction of men and women with 30 or 40 years of active service normally before them. If this is true, how much more is it true of the young? Indeed, as already stated, the period 18 to 21 is the most critical of a person's life. Mistakes made during that period are seldom rectified, and most of us would like to see the Government, through the B.B.C. make some educational effort to reach and help these youngsters. During the war there have been many interesting talks and discussions but not half enough. Just think of it when it is for their future the blood and treasure of the country is being poured out. *An hour or even half an hour of the B.B.C.'s time should be given over to the task daily and that*

time should be 7 to 7-30 p.m. or 7-30 to 8 p.m. every day, Sunday included.

What is there to be said to such a wide audience of youngsters of both sexes? What is there not to tell these youngsters at the beginning of real life. Two years have probably elapsed since they left school, during which years their education has drifted, and much they had learned has been almost forgotten. Tell them, first of all, of the power that is within each of them, the power that has enabled the poorest of boys and girls to become great and famous; tell them of the beauty of craftsmanship, and create in them the desire to produce things of charm and utility; tell them of the beauty of words, and encourage and guide their reading; tell them of life, and so enable them to escape its pitfalls; above all, teach them the meaning of comradeship, of co-operation and the subordination of self. Open the door of the mind to them, and you open the door of the world. What a task for the right man, and what a joy to devise a programme that would "mould" without moralizing; that would educate without seeming to educate. Talk neither down to them, nor above their heads; forget the past and think of the future.

Indeed, what can one tell them of the past, unless it is of the misdeeds of man; it is the future for which we are planning and working, and if these youngsters fail we plan in vain.

CHAPTER SIX

AND WHAT OF THE WOMEN?

Now, what part is woman to take in this period of reconstruction and sacrifice? Those who are over 55 years of age, of course, retire from business or commerce with the men of similar age. But something more is required of her. It is the acknowledgment that for a period at least, the needs of man must take priority over those of woman in all spheres of commercial activity. This is asking a great deal, for it means the temporary abandonment of many of the rights and privileges which she fought so hard to attain. But if we acknowledge such a gesture on her part, not as an abandonment of principle, but as a very necessary contribution to national necessity, surely she will listen to the voice of reason, particularly as such an action must eventually prove greatly to the advantage of her sex.

The natural expectation and hope of the majority of women is to marry, enjoy the comfort of their own home and beget a family. Such expectations must become less probable of attainment if hundreds of thousands of men in the prime of life are lost to industry because women, in the majority of cases willing to work for less money, are taking their place. After the war, this danger will be greatly increased, for women have entered new trades, and become accustomed, to and skilled in, the handling of engineering tools and electrical equipment—trades almost entirely new in the sphere of woman's activities.

It is imperative for women to realize that the average man's earnings go, or will do so eventually, to the upkeep of a home, a wife and children. Obviously, then, such

men are of primary importance to the State, and during periods of crisis must have preference over the needs of women workers whose earnings are largely devoted to self-support.

The immediate answer to this is of course, that thousands of women support parents and other relations. That is admitted, and must be taken into consideration, but a more generous system of old age pensions and pensions for the incurably sick, which must surely come in this enlightened plane of life we are planning, should definitely remove this liability.

In order to discover woman's reaction to this development, the writer asked women in many spheres of life what would be *their* answer if the State required women to stand aside for a time so that the future of menfolk who, for two or more years, have borne the most exhausting and dangerous burdens for a mere pittance, may be placed beyond the reach of penury.

To be quite frank, the response was disappointing, though, in almost every case it was agreed that, in the case of young married women, looking after the home was a full-time job. Of course this takes one nowhere, for in the natural course of events, the birth of children quickly follows such marriages, and whether she wants to or not, the mother, unless endowed with an abundance of worldly wealth, must temporarily devote her life to them.

As a natural sequence the question of equal pay for men and women cropped up in these discussions, an idea that was most successfully discounted by one of the other ladies.

If women were to succeed in gaining this object, this lady suggested, it would provide the complete answer to the writer's question. In a large percentage of cases woman is employed because she is thoroughly capable of doing the job, and willing to accept a lower wage than it is

possible for a man to accept because of his heavier responsibilities. Equal pay for equal services would merely cause an employer to think carefully before engaging a woman; he knows full well the possibility of her leaving to get married, an event which, in the case of a man tends to instil a desire to settle down, become more efficient and so, secure. Further, there is the question of long service. Commercial and industrial life wears a woman down more quickly than a man. A man of fifty is often in his prime—a woman, but rarely. For these causes such a demand on the part of woman would certainly tend to lessen the scope of her activities.

There is also another question which affects the employment of married women, this is, income tax. If, as is almost certain, income tax remains at its present figure, it will hardly be worth while for a married woman to work. In normal times, for the purpose of income-tax assessment, the earnings of both husband and wife are usually lumped together. The increased sum automatically carries a higher rate of tax, therefore, so far as the actual net income is concerned, the woman will have received but a small reward for her week's effort.

So one comes to the conclusion that but few will disagree with a decision to remove married women from industry and the national services, except in cases of proved hardship. But if this is decided upon, so also must cease the employment of those men in receipt of pensions who, because of war necessity, are still employed by the State, the Bank of England and other banks and organizations. This point is included because a woman raised it, and she is right. The nation cannot afford a wage and a pension for anyone, and such casual employees cannot have any special knowledge or ability not possessed by the men of the forces looking for jobs—and those jobs must be theirs.

Even now we have no answer to the big question "Should woman stand aside?" Indeed so difficult is the answer to discover, that to understand woman's viewpoint it is necessary to go deeply into the series of events that have brought women to their present high state of efficiency in all spheres of life and so try to understand the interesting possibilities they see for the future of their sex.

Evolution is an inexorable process—it goes on and on, despite what men think or do. In the centuries that have passed there have been times when it almost seemed as if a halt had been called, but no, nature had merely retraced her steps awhile, and though great nations perished, new civilizations arose even more powerful.

But in all those centuries nature seemed chiefly to concern herself with man. It was man's brain that developed and grew, it was man who created those magnificent works of art and sculpture and literature that are the only lasting memory of many a great nation. Indeed, if it were not for the present evidence of woman's arrival into every phase of the world's work, the evidence of woman's past inferiority might cause many to doubt the truth of the theory of evolution altogether.

The writer admits a certain disquiet about writing upon this subject at all, one is so easily misunderstood. Some time ago he wrote an article entitled "Will Woman Dominate the Future?" which was published in the *London Morning Post*.

Now that article was written all in good faith and with the idea of warning fellow-men that in woman they had a worthy competitor for all the prizes of Law, Politics and Commerce. It was an article definitely written for men.

Alas, it was published upon the Woman's Page and the well-known feminist, Miss Margaret Latimer, was deputed to answer the questions raised on the morrow.

Since that day many of his friends have looked upon the writer with suspicion as a man who held woman in greater reverence than she did herself; even his wife's friends suggested he must be a funny fellow. The truth really is, his understanding of woman is woefully feeble, but nevertheless he sees possibilities of some strange developments around her.

Miss Margaret Latimer instead of taking the line expected—"well, and why on earth shouldn't woman equal man"—wrote that it was time for woman to call a halt.

Call a halt! Impossible, unless one is prepared to go to the lengths of a Hitler who, later, *also saw this same challenge to man's prestige* and acted drastically, as all the world knows.

Can one stop a flood? Woman is in the arena, is putting up a magnificent show; she is thinking and on the average, is even better educated than man, and certainly more conscientious and loyal. Is there anything that can stop her progress, and is there any reason why it should? This brings us to an interesting possibility:

Is it possible in a few decades that whatever superiority man now possesses over woman will have disappeared?

THE SAME BEGINNINGS

Man and woman were evolved from the same humble beginnings. Except in the story of Adam and Eve, no one suggests that the evolution of man preceded that of woman, so it is only logical to suppose that both had their beginnings together and that the period of transition took them both along a common road.

If one accepts the theory of evolution that the human body is a mass of cells working alike in male and female, how can one suggest that in one sex something is added which gives greater power to the brain? Then, again, how can those cells differ fundamentally, even in the male sex,

at birth to account for the difference that causes one brother to be clever—a genius, the other—commonplace. If one believes that man possesses a power withheld from woman the theory of evolution falls to the ground and one is forced back to the old religion based on the Garden of Eden and Adam and Eve created in human form by God to populate the earth.

If one thinks that, then it is possible to reconcile the idea and possibility of man being equipped by the wisdom of an all-seeing providence with greater brain-power than woman, because it is conceivable that God intended man to bear the heavier burdens of life, while the function of woman was and is to bear children. That same reasoning, however, cannot be applied in the case of evolution because of the fact that the common cells that comprise the body of both are the same and start upon a common basis. Is it not possible that woman's progress, compared with man's, was retarded, only because in the old days, the word "why" did not bother her—she accepted life as it came. Until a few decades ago women were taught by the old parsons that "woman was made for man"; "that it was their duty to be content with the position in life in which it had pleased God to place them."

What untruth! Discontent, divine discontent, is surely at the bottom of all progress.

Centuries ago man broke away from tradition and began to ask for himself "why" and from that point his progress has been definitely upward. Poor men became rich men: poor boys developed into great scientists, scholars, engineers, etc., by applying their brains to the problems that puzzled them. Let us go back to the days when the human race was young, and trace the development of the process. The half-savage man, in the cause of safety and sustenance, pitted his poor brains against those of the wild animals with which his cave was surrounded. In other words, he

had to think or go under. As he progressed, he thought more and more, and thus got into the habit of thinking. This process took him along the road towards bows and arrows, boats, huts, houses, organized family councils, and finally to civilization as we know it to-day. But throughout all those centuries, until the last few decades, woman with few exceptions, was content for man to think and plan for her. To-day, she is thinking and just as the elementary brains of the early man have developed into the wonderful machine it is to-day, under present conditions there is nothing to prevent woman's brains developing in exactly the same way.

THE LIFE OF A WOMAN IN VICTORIAN DAYS

For thousands of years woman was the underdog—a mere slave, a chattel—and even in more enlightened countries—the tool of service and pleasure of men. The whole atmosphere with which she has been surrounded inculcated an inferiority complex that for centuries held her irrevocably chained. Just let your mind dwell upon the restricted lives of women in Victorian days. The education of the daughters of even our greatest families was subordinated to the needs of her brothers. Anything but Eton, Oxford or Cambridge was unthinkable for these youths; for the daughters a governess, and probably a visiting master of music or languages. She was *protected* from the world, and in the process entailed but little cost to the family exchequer. Extravagance *ad lib.* for the sons, penury and dependence for the daughters, their only hope of escape—marriage.

The War of 1914-18 finally smashed those chains, but even before then there were signs of a great awakening, the suffragette movement the first of them. Anyway, from that time the upward process has been in evidence everywhere.

Have you ever paused to think of the effect this emancipation of women had upon the commerce of the world? Indeed if it were not for her purchases, business in its huge modern form would quickly topple to ruin. Visualize those fine and elaborate stores of the West End and similar stores in every provincial town; how could they ever have come into being or indeed exist but for the emancipation of woman, and indeed where would they, these fine stores, or even modern London be, if ever woman lost her love and desire for personal adornment?

MAKING UP THE LEE-WAY

Woman is rapidly catching up and out-stripping man. The process will take years but will not be so long delayed as was man's, for she has at her disposal all the discoveries man has made, all the lessons of life that he has learned—and education. All through the past centuries the vital spark which in great brains develops and increases in power, has lain almost unused and idle in the female sex. To-day, it is working, its power is increasing with every upward step she takes. You find her in Parliament, at the head of first-class business organizations, in Physics, Chemistry, Law and Industry, and it is possible to see in her development the greatest threat to man's power that has ever existed, and the more man depends upon war for the settlement of his disputes, the nearer his loss of dominance becomes.

The favourite argument brought against this theory is: "Woman has not the physical strength to maintain the fight that leadership brings in its train."

Surely that very weakness is going to be her strength. She is not physically endowed to dig, hew or fight, neither, except in the case of fighting, are the best mentally equipped men. There will always be sufficient lazy-minded men to do these tasks, but woman will some day lead, unless man,

realizing his peril, sets to work to retain his dominance and banishes the brain weariness that besets him. The misdeeds of man have got this world into a state approaching almost irretrievable disaster. What solution has he for the problems he has created, international, national and individual? Why, simply to spend more and more money in search for a solution. Already he has wasted thousands of millions and has not found even a germ of an idea in the process. He has made money almost useless and in spite of the effort to create a League of Nations, there is more disruption in the relations between nations than ever.

Of course it is not suggested that woman will make any greater success of things than has man. *All one can say is that woman is developing to such an extent and so rapidly, that there are unlimited possibilities in her future.* Some day, as things are, she must at least reach man's level of achievement.

In the world of business woman is proving more loyal, more efficient and certainly more enthusiastic about her job than is the average man.

Look around you, even to-day the tendency to employ women instead of men increases with every year, quite apart from the call to war service; if this tendency persists, what can be the future of man?

MAN'S TWENTY CENTURIES' START

The future of man is going to be more difficult than ever unless he brings more into the business of life than he did in pre-war days. To young men, one would say, your success is only limited by your actions. Brains are the divine gift—use them and their power multiplies to an almost unlimited extent, let them go idle and they disappear. Get it into your minds that women are similarly equipped—but with this difference—their brains are fresh with the new awakening of power and there is a mighty

force stirring the sex that spells danger to the male if he will not use to the very utmost the resources bestowed upon him by nature *and his twenty centuries' start*.

In the years preceding the war man seemed tired and almost ambitionless, woman full of nervous energy—and man must fight or go under.

The signs indicate that in the comparatively near future, women will be as strong a force in politics, science, the professions and business, as man. Indeed, the present generation may even see the coming of the first woman Premier. If you think this exaggeration, just think of the development of the Labour Party. If, when Keir Hardie took his seat in Parliament, anyone had said that within forty years Labour would govern Great Britain, he would have been laughed to scorn.

REMEMBER A POOR BOY BECAME BRITAIN'S PREMIER

But it has happened. Men coming from the lowliest of beginnings have reached the highest places, their brains have proved the equal of the best. A poor boy became an honoured Premier; another, the greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer England has ever known. Probably as boys their brains were not dissimilar to those of other boys, but those restless brains of theirs gave them no rest. They had to think, could not stop thinking, and it was the power of their brains alone that brought them to eminence. Now then, in forty years the Labour Party developed from one member to become His Majesty's Government. To-day, there are fourteen women members of Parliament. Will anyone be bold enough to deny that from this nucleus a powerful woman's party may not evolve? If anyone is so bold let them think of the tremendous things women are doing to-day and how she craves to do more, even how to use a rifle.

WOMAN'S PROGRESS WILL FOLLOW THE COURSE
OF MAN'S

Women's votes exceed men's and the day must come when the sex will realize their power and organize to achieve dominance. Evolution is an uncontrollable force, and the evolution of woman must follow lines parallel with that of man. Men, particularly those who have not come into contact with the efficient modern woman in administrative posts, are apt to judge the sex as capricious and unreasoning; chatterboxes who know neither the beauty nor dignity of silence. For the life of them they cannot visualize the possibility of minds so centred on dress, appearance and the small things of life, ever developing the same strength of character, thought and purpose that made the men who built the Empire, great.

It is of course easy for women to find a parallel in the background of sport, so essential to the average man's existence, but as we all know, neither of these things necessarily undermine either the course of evolution or the real purpose of life. Whatever the failings of either sex, character and understanding do increase and develop with every year of enforced education, and it is these things that matter. Woman's rise and success in almost all spheres of the world's work, since her education took parallel lines with man's, is evidence of this, and, except for a pause during the period of reconstruction after the war, it is difficult to see what is to prevent her reaching the greatest heights of achievement.

There is of course the question of bearing children, and even in this science may say the last word; there are also the needs of armies and navies and air forces, but then is this not a book which visualizes a world in which war as a means of settling international disputes and grievances has been abandoned, and may not the mothers of sons prove an important factor in bringing this revolutionary idea about?

WHAT OF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE?

Of course, all this is of the future. What of to-day, or rather, to-morrow, when the war ends, and life for hundreds of thousands of women and girls will have to begin all over again?

During 1941-2 British women have been uprooted as never before in their history; they have been taken from domestic service, non-essential factories, offices, shops and from private home life, and sent to work in munition factories, upon farms and in auxiliary branches of all the Services, and have worked splendidly.

What is going to happen to them in this new plane of life we are planning? Are those who have learned highly technical crafts, such as the Engineering and Electrical Trades, going to settle down again in the jobs they left, or indeed will those jobs be available without a long lapse of time? Again, what part is woman to take in the general self-sacrificing effort on the part of all to ensure the men who served in the Forces being reinstated immediately in civil life? Further a position of great danger would be created if women now in skilled technical jobs attempted to hold those jobs to the detriment of men.

This is undoubtedly a stiff problem, because if we ask them to stand aside in sufficient numbers to serve our purpose, we at once get up against the very thing for which they have worked for forty or more years—equality of opportunity with man.

Behind such a suggestion they may at once profess to see a move which will retard the whole upward process that has become so pronounced in every sphere of woman's activities; they may even see the danger of the chains that fettered them in Victorian days being once again forged.

How are we to get over this without penalizing either the men we wish to help, or the women with thirty or forty years of active service before them?

Now we come to the suggestion of controlling for a period the choice of career of all girls leaving school. This proposal does seem a bit hard on the youngsters, but really much good might come from the experiment.

If certain doors to industry are to be closed to them, others must be opened and some of the existing ones made more attractive. Let the schools make more of Domestic Science and let the wireless educate housewives as to the rights of servants in such matters of leisure, privacy, working hours and evening freedom, and then perhaps the servant problem will cease to worry us.

Then there is the nursing profession, which surely should attract more of the best types of council or secondary school girl. In any case, it is a matter of doubt whether sending any girl of sixteen or thereabouts, straight from school to a factory there to mix with boys and men, can by any stretch of imagination be termed an ideal condition of affairs. So in this new plane of life, this question of school-leaving occupation for girls is one of the tasks requiring the closest attention; these future mothers are vitally important to the final success of our task.

Employers will say, "It's all very well. You propose taking the boys direct from school and giving them a period of training before they are allowed to start work, and now you are cheating us of the only alternative—girl labour. How on earth are we going to compete in the markets of the world if low-priced unskilled labour is denied to us?"

The answer of course is, "It was the introduction of more and more machines that made unskilled labour practicable and profitable. Employers must for a time at least balance the loss of the one from the profit of the other."

We are still without the answer to our original question: "What part is woman to take in this period of reconstruction and sacrifice?" We have, however, put our case; the answer must come from women themselves.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WHAT PART HAS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THIS NEW WORLD WE ARE SEEKING?

REALLY it is difficult to say, for the Church to-day has but little influence on the affairs of the average man's life. In peace she pursues her rather aloof quiet way on a plane over his head, and in war hibernates until the storm is over.

The brotherhood of man, and war between supposedly Christian nations are a contradiction in terms. If nations persist in war Christianity must eventually come to an end.

Then why did God permit this last and most terrible of all wars?

Who should know the answer better than the cultured priests of the Church. They at least must have realized that in a world where men craved power and riches above everything else, a super-greedy man, determined to build up the means of attaining overwhelming power, would be bound to put in an appearance somewhere or other, and that then in due course war must follow.

In the present instance the coming of such a man may well have been pre-ordained, for Hitler, in a few months did something the Church failed to accomplish over a period lasting hundreds of years. He created such disgust among the masses with the way of life that made the coming of criminals such as he possible, that they have determined the post-war world shall be a vastly different place.

And it is not mere words this time.

Nevertheless we must face up to this question of "why does God permit war?" Are we to believe that war is an infliction, sent for some inscrutable Divine purpose? Are

we to believe that this periodical reversion to the law of the jungle simply marks the point beyond which civilization may not go? Despite the barbarities and atrocities committed by Germany and Japan it seems impossible that this should be so, for it makes the whole purpose of life so futile.

Yet throughout the centuries, war and disease have destroyed culture and time after time man has been reduced almost to the elementary being he was in the twilight of history. Even in these supposedly enlightened times it so reduces him. May this not mean that the Architect of the universe, repeatedly disappointed and bewildered by the faults, imperfections and actions of His masterpiece, brings him down in anger?

Hitherto history has been a period of such cycles, one after another, nations have grown in intellect; poets, writers, artists and great men have risen from among its people; riches, greed, arrogance and envy have followed, then war . . . and the end.

Is it destined that this cycle shall continue until there shall come to the nations a realization of the great truth that must be behind evolution—THAT THE MIND THE GREAT ARCHITECT GAVE UNTO MEN MUST OF NECESSITY BE PART OF HIS OWN—AND THAT MAN'S MIND IS THE ONE LINK WHICH BINDS HIM TO HIS CREATOR—the thing which creates in us all the inborn desire to worship?

That is one answer to the riddle, but if this idea of a universal mind is true, why has it not led the nations to friendship instead of antagonism—to brotherhood instead of enmity?

There are many reasons, but the most potent is fear—damnable fear of rapacious war lords that even two thousand years of Christianity, the growth of civilization and education have been unable to eradicate. It was Fear that destroyed the League of Nations; Fear also brought

Britain's appeal for disarmament to nought, and it is fear that has brought, once again, the armies of Europe and the world to grips.

Fear of the aggressor—that is the persistent thing which is threatening civilization.

How, then, can this thing be destroyed? The use of force has proved futile, for no sooner is one aggressor destroyed than another arises—history is mainly the story of such exploits.

The problem must be faced or civilization is doomed despite all man may plan or do in the way of creating new social orders.

There is only one foundation for a movement that is intended to reach and influence the peoples of the whole world, particularly Europe, and this is the Christian religion, the teaching of which *knows no barrier* of language.

But, you say, Christianity has failed.

No, Christianity—the simple teachings of Christ, has not failed, it is the human leaders of the Church who have failed because they allowed themselves to be dominated by kings and rulers, by men of great possessions and wealth, by the mundane things of life. Indeed, are they not themselves men of wealth and the Church an organization with great possessions, and is it not because of this, poor men, thinking men, and men who simply believe in the message Christ taught, are loath to take part in the lip worship of the Church service?

It does seem, also, that the Church is obsessed by what they call its traditions. Traditions! Of course an organization that has been in being for nearly two thousand years should have a wonderful tradition. But does the Church really possess one of which it can be proud? Its foundation—Christ, its corner-stones, the teachings of the Apostles—poor fishermen and others like them upon whom the example of Christ's teaching worked so potently that they

attained the gift of words, words among the most beautiful in the New Testament.

It is a long jump from the story of the Disciples harried, suffering and often martyred, to the modern wealthy aristocrats of the Church. On the one hand, the direst poverty, and pulpits in dark unseen places; on the other, cathedrals of such beauty as the art and wit of man can devise, rich vestments and furnishings of gold. Between these two eras the tradition of the Church must be found, and what is it? Two hundred decades and in not one of them was the Christian principle the basic factor of governments, international affairs, or commerce.

MONUMENTS OF FAILURE

Our cathedrals, lovely as they are, are but monuments to this failure. What is the use of rich vestments, lordly architecture and beautiful phrasing to souls tortured by sin, pain and poverty; or to men racked as men are to-day with fear and loss of faith almost in everything.

If Christianity is to live, it must at least give us a glimpse of what a truly Christian State might be. Words are not enough. Not only the vision, but also the example must come from the Church. All thinking men realize that for a time the path must be one of self-sacrifice and denial upon the part of all; for a time none may be rich, so that none may be poor, and this must apply to the Church as well as to laymen.

Speaking on the wireless in September 1941, the Bishop of Sheffield said:

“Even if the well-paid clergy were to share of their comparative affluence with their poor brethren, that alone would not raise the minimum level all round by many pounds.”

Does the reverend gentleman not realize that a similar argument is the usual stock reply of all the “haves” when

called upon to consider the dreadful condition of the "have nots?" Does he forget also that other things besides incomes go to the making of wealth and the Church has great possessions? Further, can he not see the wonderful reactions such a gesture would generate? In 1918 it was the writer's privilege to organize the Press Publicity side of the Church of England's Central Fund. An appeal was made for £1,000,000, and it was planned to devote a considerable part of this sum to the very subject of the Bishop of Sheffield's remarks, the "poor clergy." Actually, £350,000 was received as the result of a month's effort, a total which, no doubt, has been greatly increased since. If this is so, then it is not merely a question of priests with exceptionally high incomes helping their poorer brethren, but also the realizing of the rich possessions of the Church, and its accumulated funds as well. Even if we admit that this sum might not be sufficient to do all that is desirable, a great deal could be done. At all events, in this new plane of life we are trying to envisage an example is badly needed. Even wealthy men with no religious convictions to-day realize that in a world so richly endowed as this, no man should be possessed of excessive wealth while others starve or live on the margin of appalling poverty. If this is true of everyday affairs, how much more so must it be of the Church whose teachings are based on those of the Man who said, "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor."

In writing like this, the impression may be gained that the beauty of the Church service, its music and works of art mean nothing to the writer. This is not so.

The trouble is that the welfare of human beings seems so much more important to many of us than any of these things, and we believe it is more important to bring beauty into the lives of the poor than to build beautiful buildings, be they churches or palaces. These can come when the greater task is done.

We speak of a world-wide plan to save the peoples of the world from ever-recurring war, yet in every one of those European countries now torn by war the Christian religion has played an intimate part in the lives of the people for centuries. It was so even in Germany.

THEN WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE CHURCH?

It is this.

Among mountains, listening to the music of waterfalls, in forests and amid the beauty of stately trees and the singing of birds, under the dome of a star-lit sky, or any other manifestation of the beauty of nature, man can feel God and believe in Him. In reading the story of Gethsemane and of the first Easter morn, man sees with weeping eyes the sorrowful figure of Christ.

Yes, he sees and feels these things and they help him on his way. But does he see them in those vast and delightfully beautiful cathedrals the Church deem so necessary to the worship of God; does he see them in those richly garbed figures of the aristocrats of the Church and their palace homes; or is the figure of Christ, the son of the carpenter, the associate of fishermen and the poor, lost in that panoply of grandeur and riches?

Christ taught the brotherhood of man. Yet is not the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other archbishop, or bishop for that matter, as remote from the mass of men as the King and Queen?

Does not the Church as it is to-day tend to stand between man and God?

Indeed, in their obsession for the "Church," its traditions and ritual, have not many ordained priests almost forgotten the humility of Her Founder and the purpose of His coming? To put it bluntly, has not the Church become of more importance than Christ?

If the Church is to take any real part in the reconstruction of post-war Britain and Europe she must begin within herself.

For laymen, a complete subordination of self for the advantage of all has been called for. For the great magnates of finance and industry—a limitation of profits and salaries; and the rich have been shown that the possession of excessive riches is not to be tolerated until proper sustenance, security and healthy conditions of life are assured to all, even the poorest.

THE CHURCH MUST SET AN EXAMPLE

In the early pages of this book it was explained how vitally essential it is for every worker to be assured of the necessities of life, both during his or her years of full activity and also when advancing years bring retirement, if real happiness is to come into their lives.

Let the gospel of "security" be preached from every pulpit, but first of all the Church must see that every priest serving her enjoys that selfsame privilege.

The Church is rich; it also has its Central Fund and investments, accumulations of riches that are not in keeping with her own teachings so long as poverty exists either among the servants of the Church or in the State. Yes, pensions, adequate pensions for parsons are as important as those for every other conscientious worker, not at '70' as at present, but at '60' so as to keep the Church always virile and active.

Further, in civilian life the "over fifty-fives" are asked to stand aside to give the younger generation the chance to build anew. A similar gesture on the part of the Church would be magnificent. It is necessary also, because until almost fanatical zeal and unbounded inspiration take a grip upon the minds of both priests and people the necessary adjustments to our social structure can never take place.

Those of advancing years have but little sympathy with either fanatical zeal or changes, and will persist in reiterating the great importance of experience. Well, what have

the present generation of the elderly done with their vast store of experience? To be blunt, they have wellnigh brought civilization to an end.

A fine body of young virile priests exists within the Church; one occasionally hears them over the wireless, and when one does, one tends to regret the lost habit of joining them in public worship. They are the type of men the Church needs at the top and it is doubtful if Christianity will make any real progress until they are there.

WHAT THE CHURCH MUST DECIDE

Great changes are coming in this and every other country and the Church will have to decide whether she is going to join in whole-heartedly and help to build the new structure upon a Christian foundation or stand aside and let things take their course.

Every thoughtful man realizes that a religious foundation is essential to post-war reconstruction if the reins are to be wrested from a group of mere agitators, but the future is for youth and only with youth at the helm in the Church and their loyal co-operation with their laymen brothers, can a condition of life be created that will satisfy man's reawakened conscience.

BROTHERHOOD

What is there in this word "War" that makes it the only thing that ever causes men of different classes to forget class distinctions and stand side by side facing death under the most appalling conditions? What is there in this word "War" that made it the only thing to cause the leaders of the Church to realize there is something sadly amiss with their religion and for once cause them to forget creeds and plan to get together.

Can it be that, after all, there is something noble in war? God forbid! All these undeniable facts show is that taken away from the artificial facts of modern life, in the real

heart of man, there is no place for the petty distinctions of class. Facing terror and death—and in death worldly things are forgotten—then the strongest of men and the most hardened of sinners, pray.

Now an extract from Sir Phillip Gibbs' *European Journey*:

"That is the astounding and alarming phenomenon of life in Europe as I have seen it on this journey. There is no belief in the chance of peace, although all peoples desire it. Everywhere there is a sense of doom in the minds of men and women. They believe themselves to be driven by an inescapable destiny towards a new war, the approach of which they dread. There is nothing they can do about it, they think. There is no preventive of war, as there is no cure of cancer. It happens without people wanting it, said the market woman of Stuttgart. Because there has always been war, there must be another war—the next—which will as most men agree, complete the ruin of the last to the ultimate scrap-heap of human wreckage. That is the fear which is haunting and obsessing the mind of Europe to-day. It is very strong in France. It is equally strong in Germany. It is in many English minds. It is, as I have told, a conviction among the very men who are building the new palace of the League of Nations. It is the commonplace of conversation—and the only doubt about this next war which is coming is the date of it—before ten years or after ten years. Yet nobody wants it. Everybody regards it with horror."

Well, that war came and we know that of the peoples of Europe none wished for it and all prayed steadfastly that such a horror might never be.

To whom can the "common peoples" of the world look for succour if belief in Divine influence and protection is taken from them; and from whence can help come except from those who have taught them to pray? Kings, dictators and governments have failed them; if the Church again fails they are indeed lost, and with them, Civilization.

The Christian Church is Christ—His Life, His Example, His Teaching, His Sacrifice and Resurrection. Label that

Church as you will, call it Catholic, Church of England, Nonconformist, Salvation Army—the background is the brotherly love Christ taught.

No matter under what label one prays, that prayer reaches the Throne of God bereft of label, bereft of all worldly trappings, a simple, humble request. For the sake of humanity, is it not possible for the Churches to discard temporarily all such labels and unite in a great Crusade to bring an assured life of peace to the long-suffering “common peoples” of the world?

If they cannot, surely the sacrifice upon Calvary was in vain, and think on this: *there cannot be a second Calvary.*

IS A LEAGUE OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES POSSIBLE?

The formation of a strong International League of the Christian Churches is one of the first things necessary. Every religious organization must be represented from the Church of Rome to the Salvation Army.

Impossible, some may say. Have not many of the great ministers of the Church been trying to do something similar for years? They have, as the following letter shows. It was written by the Rev. Albert D. Belden, then Superintendent of Whitefield's Central Mission as long ago as March 1935:

“Your aim represents the thing that I have been struggling for in my ministry since the end of the war [1914-18]. It is by no means an easy task. The most solid result of all my efforts has been the founding of the National Council of Christian Pacifist Groups which does represent all the denominations excepting Rome. I would like to refer you also to an interview with myself on Peace that appeared in *Great Thoughts*, I think, of last November, in which you will find a reference to an idea of mine for rallying all the Churches of Great Britain and all the Churches of America to such a covenant as you propose though rather more absolute regarding war—not leaving it to rest even on the League of Nations—to be taken by all these Churches at their tables of, and in terms of, Holy Communion. You will be

glad to know that Dr. Parkes Cadman, of New York, the great radio preacher of America, was greatly interested in this idea, and promised me that he would refer to it over the radio in the States."

Well, more than seven years have passed and it seems that little or no progress has been made. What is the cause of this inertia among the great of the Church that no man with the necessary driving force has come forward and sacrificed all to drive this Crusade, which religious thought everywhere awaits, through to its appointed end?

Yet it can be done; indeed it must be done or we might just as well finish with religion altogether, and that is unthinkable.

If it should prove impossible to get representative priests of all the Churches around one table in the cause for which their Leader—the Prince of Peace—was crucified, how then can it ever be possible to visualize an active, trusted League of Nations? A League of the Churches would be founded on love—a League of Nations on fear; the League of Churches must come first and come now.

PRAYER, YES, BUT ACTION AS WELL

It is not suggested that the Churches cast aside their creeds and differences in worship—but merely that for the time being, they should forget those differences and join together in a common plan to break the power of brute force and bring lasting peace to the world. The world is looking to the Church in this crisis for something more than prayer. No priest, no matter how great may be his faith in prayer, is content to remain inactive on his knees when a loved one is stricken nigh to death. He prays, of course, but he also does everything in his power to make it possible for his prayers to be answered.

Well, Europe is sick unto death—it rests with the Priests of the Christian Churches to make it possible for God to

answer all those prayers that have gone up to Him from the thousands of people of His Church in the world. Doubtless many priests reading this will let their minds dwell upon absence of men and youths from Divine Service. But the absence of men from public worship is evidence, not of their disbelief in the teachings of the Church, but of their disbelief in those who have undertaken the task of interpreting Christ's message. Actually, men are more religious in thought than ever, and once the leaders of Christian religion show they are leaders and not mere talkers, the world will see a religious revival such as has never before been known.

Anyway, is it possible to find a way out of the difficulties now facing civilization—except through the Christian religion working upon the heart of man? The answer to this question is bound to be in the negative, and frankly one cannot see any conscientious priest being content with the past and present lack of organized action on the part of the Church.

WHY HAS THE CHURCH FAILED WITH CHILDREN?

In two thousand years Christianity has reached the farthestmost corners of the earth. In most of the countries children learn its simple truths almost from the cradle and continue to do so until their 'teens. Then it would seem the grip weakens, but in the majority of cases, the belief in the perfection of, and the beautiful ideals taught by Christ, are never forgotten. The Church is to blame for this lost grip—it cannot be otherwise.

It almost seems sacrilege to mention the name "Hitler" in this connection, but the Churches can, if they will, learn a lesson from one of his greatest triumphs. Hitler realized that it is not an easy task to change the habits and thoughts of grown men and women. It was a stroke of genius on his part to set to work upon the minds of the men and women

of the future. He trained them to believe in a new god—himself—and as the result of years of concentrated effort, the young people of Germany accepted him at his own valuation. Many of the youngsters he began with are now in their twenties—it is they and the youth of Germany which enabled that country to challenge the world.

For the past century the children of the civilized world have been submitted to the teachings of the Church—how is it that this training has so utterly failed? If it is possible for a human being to train children to glorify war and dominance for a nation, it should have been possible, after two thousand years, for the Church to have eradicated from men's minds altogether any latent belief in war that may have existed.

The task of the Church in every country is to preach Peace, and to take a strong line and say that neither they, nor Christians, may take part in any war of aggression. Tolerance in times of war has been the weakness. With the example and teaching of Christ behind them, and accepted by almost every man and woman, it should have been no more difficult to teach this present generation how to break the shackles of war than it has been for Hitler to teach the reverse.

An anti-Christ in a few years has offset the work of thousands of priests and two thousand years of Christian tradition. Something is wrong somewhere that civilization should be threatened, as it is to-day, and the majority of men and women will agree that without some bold action on the part of the Christian Churches this wrong will never be righted.

LIP WORSHIP

Why is it that the average man has so little belief in the Church? Here is an extract from a letter written by a journalist of standing. He says: "I greatly doubt whether

twenty-five per cent of clergy are really in favour of peace. In the last war the Government regarded the clergy as their best recruiting sergeants. If clergymen really believed in what they preached they would be peacemakers to a man, but they are not and they will have to be converted first if they are to help the scheme (this scheme) in any way."

If this were merely the opinion of one man, no matter how well informed and trained in the reading of public thought and the understanding of national and international conditions he might be, his view would carry little weight; but the horror of the whole thing is that almost every man with whom one discusses the problem has the same opinion—that the prayers which go up from Churches or through the medium of wireless are so much lip worship.

The writer is not in agreement with this journalistic friend's view. He would prefer to turn the figures round and assert that seventy-five per cent of all the clergy of all the denominations earnestly desire peace and the brotherhood of man, and would make every sacrifice to bring it about. Maybe these men are only to be found among the rank and file of the Churches, where they wait with some impatience for lead and guidance from those who hold positions of authority; it would seem they wait in vain.

Those of us who "listen in" to the Sunday evening services of the B.B.C. are conscious of the earnest desire for International Brotherhood that is behind the words of so many of these discourses, but no progress is made, and none will be made until the combined Churches find another leader of the stamp of John Wesley.

WHO WILL DARE TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP?

What then is the purpose of these Christian Churches which so betray the teachings of their Master? In listening

to the voices of kings, dictators, governments, men of riches and power, its professional priests seem to have forgotten their vows. Is the Christian Church for ever to remain inactive against the challenge of such men? Why should *She* fear their power—it is *She* that is strong, not they; for is not the whole world subject to the will of its Creator, the Father of the Son in whose honour and worship they have built such magnificent cathedrals and churches.

The Christian religion is still the great civilizing force in the world. Through lack of leadership it would seem to be sleeping, and unless it does awaken and a real understanding of its duty to the sorely stricken people of this world comes, the word "Christianity" will become a byword, and with each phase of its weakening so will our vaunted civilization gradually pass. In times of stress, anxiety and pain such as these, men need sterling example and bold leadership—not a religion that hibernates until the danger is past. Leaders of the Church say a League of the Christian Churches is of doubtful practicability, yet the men who say this are the men who stand in the pulpits of the great cathedrals and churches and teach common men and women that "with God all things are possible." Are we to qualify these lovely words of hope and add "except to make the priests of the Christian Churches forget their creeds and differences and get upon their knees round a common table?"

Still this day will come—it must come—and with it a dominant League of the Churches, otherwise the future outlook would be appalling.

If permanent peace is to come to the world, first of all must come a change of heart on the part of mankind. Such a change of heart could only come because of the impulse to worship—through religion, and the Brotherhood of Man.

IT CAN BE DONE

The task is surely not impossible or so difficult as one would imagine. The common people of every land long for guidance and leadership and they look to the Churches. Language is no bar, for the lesson of Christ's life and example is interpreted into every language. Christianity is an international religion—an international ideal—the *one common bond that links all nations*. What a pity it is we have allowed national grievances to cause us to forget this great truth—this one way to world peace.

Let it be quite clear that these arguments are no toadying to the "peace at any price" range of thought. The sanctity of nations and nations' rights must of necessity be the governing factor in world peace. Possibly the united Churches of Europe might have saved this present war if they had used their resources rightly in the years that have intervened since 1918; but the Church failed and once again the blood of men flows and the destruction of cities proceeds until dictators or kings and governments realize once and for all time that the power of armaments and the doctrine of force will no longer be tolerated as the final word in the settlement of grievances.

All we are concerned with here is the future. Can any thinking man view the post-war period with anything but sincere misgivings? The wealth of Europe gone, trade dislocated, unemployment more rampant than ever—where is the common man to turn for succour if the Churches offer him nothing more tangible than words and prayers?

If only the Churches could be persuaded to strip themselves of their wealth, as business men and others will have to do; of the pomp and circumstance of their ritual and return to the lowliness of their beginnings—that would be an example the common peoples of the world could understand. If only some great archbishop or bishop

would discard his robes and stump the country as a missionary, what a rallying to his banner there would be.

A NEW CRUSADE

Now we have cleared the path and can see the road we have to travel clearly, let us decide the foundation upon which this crusade must be built.

A COMMON PURPOSE AND A COMMON PROGRAMME

The lesson of Christ is peace on earth, goodwill and brotherhood among men.

To create this atmosphere in every land must be the first purpose of the League.

Peace, goodwill and brotherhood can never be assured so long as men are allowed to manufacture munitions of war for profit, and this brings us to our first constructive fact:

It is necessary to take the manufacture of all munitions of war—ships, guns, armoured planes, shells, etc., etc.—from the sphere of profit-making activity.

War comes from a national sense of injustice, i.e. over-population with no outlet for the activities of this excess human force, and a lack of the raw materials essential to trade and the well-being of a nation, or peoples. This takes us to constructive fact No. 2:

The needs and difficulties of over-populated countries must be the care of all the nations, both in the matter of living-room and regulating the supply of the world's raw materials and essential-to-life products.

Given such conditions the only real cause left for war are national "boundaries," a difficult problem, but one that will have to be faced courageously.

This brings us to constructive fact No. 3:

The only tribunal capable of dealing with such a problem is

a League of Nations comprising the nations of the whole world, enemy races (now considered) equally with the rest, after they have been purged of reactionary elements.

The successful accomplishment of these three tasks will eliminate the chief danger of future wars, therefore:

The use of armed force is only justified in the protection of one's land, one's home and loved ones—i.e. from an aggressor nation.

It is difficult, under the above conditions, to see whence an aggressor can come, but one must guard against the unforeseen. Governments do remarkably foolish things at times and because of this nations become involved in wars, the cause of which often remaining a closed book to them.

The prevention of such a happening must be one of the Crusade's first tasks. From the pulpit, by propaganda, and any other legitimate means open to them the Church in every part of the world must imbue the great masses of people everywhere with the knowledge that it is for them to choose between war and peace. They must be forced to believe that wars are *not* inevitable; that reasonableness, forbearance and a just recognition of the difficulties of "Have-not" nations are better instruments of justice than ships, guns, and bombs.

The peoples of the world are willing to believe this, but are governments? If not, governments must be forced to explore this new trend of international feeling. What are governments but the servants of the State and the State, as we have already seen, is the people.

Admittedly the task is a big one, especially when viewed from the present scene of a war-scarred world. But there is this undeniable fact of a people's *newly awakened conscience* to be remembered and when this happens in any country revolutionary events often take place. The common peoples of the world at least have had a surfeit of war and are determined their children and children's children

shall be spared this ever-recurring evil if it is humanly possible.

You've heard all this before! Of course you have, but that was when the great mass of people looked upon those in authority as super-men. To-day they do not, they believe simply in God *and in themselves*.

When this war is over the only hope of permanent world peace rests with a League of all the Nations backed by an international navy and air force strong enough to cause potential aggressors to pause and think. With such a League in active being the seas and the air would be kept safe and free for all.

But what is this to do with the League of Churches and its world-wide crusade?

A great deal, for it is the task of the Churches everywhere to make the peoples of the world League of Nations conscious from every pulpit. Every time a service takes place this must be the subject of the discourse until the League is in actual being and when that time comes the Church must carry their work a step farther and request all professing Christians to take a public vow never again to participate in any war beyond the borders of their own country, except at the call of the League.

Governments may look askance upon such a crusade, but what can they say or do? Without exception, all say they have no idea of aggression, and their membership of the League of Nations would be evidence of the fact. If they are merely anxious regarding the safety of their Homeland, there is nothing in such a promise to jeopardize the safety of any land.

Remember, if there are no aggressors, whence can possibly come the danger of war? Further, if such a crusade can be brought to a successful consummation, the Church will have strengthened the position of the League of Nations tremendously.

Under conditions thus created, the League would no longer be faced by the power and fear of aggressor nations, and could confine its activities to the elimination of those problems which in the past have been the basic cause of war and for which no war yet has ever provided a solution—the proper distribution of raw materials, and the development of the world's open spaces, no matter to which country they belong; in other words, a League of Nations would become the clearing house of every nation's problems, a tribunal by which the needs of the "have-not" nations would be solved, not altogether at the expense of the "have" nations but by a working plan by which the resources of those "have" nations are fully developed to the advantage of themselves and the world at large.

This, of course, affects Great Britain, but in any case it is useless for us or the Dominions to imagine that with the coming of peace it will be possible to return to the old casual way of handling our Trust. Our and other nations' blindness to the needs and perplexities of less fortunate nations was one of the causes of the war. Access to the world's raw materials is every nation's right and that right cannot be qualified in the interests of some greedy financier's desire for excessive profits. Indeed the vital necessities of life and nations must never again be allowed to pass into the control of Big Finance. Consciences that have no compunction in destroying the harvests of the earth and the seas in order to control prices; despite the fact thousands of human beings are starving, have no place in the kind of world we hope to build; the term "Brotherhood of Man" is beyond the comprehension of such men.

One of the things most urgently desired is a widening vision on the part of all the nations. We are all too insular and if only the barriers of communication could be simplified there is much we might all learn from each other.

Really the best way of accomplishing this would be for the League of Nations to decide that a given European language shall be known as the language of international intercourse all over the world. At the request of the League every nation would then agree to have the selected language taught in the schools in their countries as efficiently as their own.

Such a simple procedure would make future intercourse between peoples much more easy and pleasurable and with intercourse would come a new understanding and sympathy.

The pathway to such attainment is not easy; it is for the Church—the only real international organization of any power to clear the road of antagonism and doubt. It is a big task and the question is can the Church do it?

Why not?

Under the label of Communism, Russia has become great and her industrial and social achievements amaze the world. Under the label of Nazism, Germany built up vast strength which nearly brought her world dominance. Under a similar label Italy grew both in power and in arrogance. Is Christianity less than these that we should doubt the possibility of attaining even greater achievements under that banner? If the answer is in doubt, then it can only be because her chosen leaders are neither wise enough, strong enough, nor possess the necessary inspiration or vision to accomplish the task to which they have set their hand.

It is, of course, a simple matter to say the Church should do this and that, but how is the attaining of such ideals to be brought within the realms of practicability? Can the principles of modern business organizations be applied to the Church problem with the same success as has been

shown in the case of post-war reorganization and Empire development?

Again, Why not?

What is the first essential in the development of any successful business?

Complete confidence in the goods or service to be sold.

That essential at least should not present any difficulties to our Church campaign. If any priest is not absolutely sure of the truth of the Word he is ordained to preach, the sooner he resigns the better.

The next essentials are: Knowing the market, correctly estimating the degree of sales-resistance to be encountered and planning the means for breaking down that resistance.

KNOWING THE MARKET

The whole world is the Church's market, but let us visualize it from the viewpoint of Great Britain only for the purpose of this study, and what do we find—a nation awaiting religious guidance!

ESTIMATING THE DEGREE OF RESISTANCE

This really is an important matter and must be faced honestly. Resistance in what form? Why, apathy; disbelief, not so much in Christ's message as in the Church, uncertainty with regard to the ordained priests' convictions, and, above all, a conviction that many such priests do not themselves believe that life as ordained by Christ is completely possible in this modern world of commerce.

Faced with such serious facts as these, what would an experienced business man do?

He would bring to bear upon the problem the finest brains money could buy and when a practical campaign of action is produced, spend generously of his wealth, i.e. capital. Thus an organized plan would be brought to bear upon the whole problem, and in its developing, faulty

systems, weak and disloyal servants, and indeed everything that seemed to stand in the way of final accomplishment would be ruthlessly scrapped.

Is this what the Church must do?

If the word "ruthlessly" in its harshest meaning is omitted, yes!

The Church has a stiff fight before her in the coming years and will need an army of her most virile and skilled youth; men sure in their beliefs, afraid neither of wealth nor wrongdoers in places high or low. Zealous, untiring, self-sacrificing, willing to give to the last ounce in the great cause of the Brotherhood of Man.

In the forefront of the battle there can be no place for the weak-kneed or aged. Sentiment in this matter would be fatal.

BUT WHAT OF THE PLAN?

Christianity has to be revealed to the whole mass of mankind not only as a mighty, dominating spiritual force, but as a practical solution to the problems of government and those of life in all its phases.

A mighty force only attains its maximum power through careful centralized planning; a high degree of care to details; co-ordinated propaganda; and willing co-operation upon the part of every individual to whom the successful accomplishment of any part of the final objective is delegated.

It is possible to trace the process right through to its appointed end, but this book is no place for such details, so let us sum up.

In business parlance, the Church is out to "sell" the "Brotherhood of Man" which, as the result of the war, is at its lowest ebb. The time to strike with the full weight of every argument the Church possesses is *now*. Almost every thinking man, even those without any definite religious

convictions, agree that no matter what form reconstruction takes, it must be founded on a religious basis. In the coming years men will undoubtedly seek, indeed, insist upon, a higher plane of life; if the Church is true to herself and her Master, she must be prepared to sacrifice all but her beliefs in her endeavour to help mankind, in that attainment. It is imperative that mankind, in his spiritual and legitimate social strivings, should feel the united Christian Churches are with him, and is not frightened to say so.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POST-WAR TRADING: A FINANCIAL REVOLUTION

WE have travelled a long way in this investigation of post-war conditions and probed many channels by which we may reasonably expect to reach that higher plane of life we so earnestly seek. The question of finance in its relation to business, however, has scarcely been touched. True, indications have been given in many places that High Finance has gone so far beyond the realms of usefulness as to become a danger, and that is true.

In view of the grip Finance obtained upon the industries of this and other countries in pre-war years, this is, of course, a revolutionary statement, and the question will be asked what are the credentials of the writer to justify it

Frankly, none, except those of an average successful business man, with some capacity for clear thinking and a long experience in probing into all problems that beset industry and commerce.

The views expressed, then, are those of a man trained to face up to facts and seek out weaknesses, and it is his experience that in business greater weaknesses are often found in places that have a reputation for strength.

Broadly speaking, for many years past the tactics of finance have been the "Blitz" policy of driving deals through by the sheer weight of capital. "Blitz" tactics are not the true function of capital, and it is very necessary to remember that compared with "trading," finance is a comparative newcomer to the world of commerce.

High Finance would have us believe it to be the cornerstone of industry. This is not true, rather the reverse, for without industry High Finance would soon be non-existent, while industry to-day is quite as capable of carrying on successfully without its aid as it did in the past.

The proper function then of Finance (deprived of its aristocratic-sounding "High") is to come to the aid of industry according to its needs, and not as it is to-day a mere creator of values upon which a Stock Exchange can gamble.

In a previous chapter the opinion was expressed that post-war conditions would probably necessitate a reconstruction of trading organizations along more modest lines. If this should prove to be true, then "finance" in its present modern international form will have an equally modest place.

In the post-war period of reconstruction the greatest influence in seeing us safely through will be *Brain-power*, not money. Without the outpouring of constructive ideas from Britain's best, and most capable, sons' brains, plus co-ordination of ideas and effort, the spending of money would prove—as it has done so often in the past—a mere wasteful palliative, and an aggravating and costly one at that. Eventually money will have to be spent in huge sums, so huge indeed that they will probably scare the professional financier out of his wits, because they will be spent, not with the idea of profit, but for that higher end—the well-being of humanity.

That money would not be spent until brain-power had taken the solution of the problem to its furthestmost extent, and created conditions when money could be spent wisely and profitably.

Now let us try to discover where in this mighty edifice of finance weaknesses are to be found that react to the

disadvantage of the average honest man and woman, civilian and trader alike.

The first of those weaknesses is "Credit."

IS CREDIT A FALLACY?

In this almost perfect life of which the writer has tried to give a word-picture, it would, of course, be ridiculous if the people continued to be prey of unscrupulous financiers and traders, or other incompetent persons who have neither the ability nor mentality to live within their incomes.

So in considering the financial side of post-war reconstruction one comes right up against the serious question of debts and debtors, and the realization that in this centuries-old problem is to be found the cause of nearly all the perils and evils of commercial and financial life and much of the misery of home life.

Now why has it become the accepted principle of business that we should always pay in the future?

We all know men of business who delight in bragging about their credit. Only a short time ago during negotiations for the purchase of an interest in a printing business (in passing it is as well to say it fell through), the owner in all seriousness enlarged upon his ability to get "credit." He honestly seemed to view the fact as an important asset, one that must be considered in assessing the value of the business. To him it was the equivalent of a cash balance.

Just one other personal experience. A few years ago the writer interviewed the managing director of a well-known retail business with a view to securing their advertising account.

"Really, Mr. Knight," this gentleman said, "I doubt if your firm is big enough financially to handle our account."

"Surely, sir, that depends upon your method of paying accounts; how do you pay?"

"We don't pay anything for three months, and then begin to pay accounts monthly," was the amazing reply.

"And during those three months, sir, how much space will your agent have purchased on your behalf?"

"£30,000 worth. £10,000 a month is the average."

"So you always owe your agent £30,000?"

"That is so."

"Then, good-day, sir."

Within twelve months of that interview the firm in question went into liquidation.

The whole thing is fundamentally wrong. Here was a business of national dimensions being run upon the managing director's ability to get credit—unsecured credit.

If it was an isolated incident then one might shrug one's shoulders and laugh at the folly of the advertising agent who took such risks. But such things are happening every day—every business man can duplicate that story from experience. The losses are "written off," business goes merrily on and no one seems unduly disturbed.

Really, "Credit" seems nothing more than a system which makes it possible for impecunious persons to embark upon business ventures of varying degrees and magnitude on the principle of "heads I win, tails you lose."

CREDIT IS NOT PERMITTED IN MANY NATIONAL SERVICES

Now in considering the theory that "credit" is a fallacy, it is necessary to remember that in our national life are many services for which we have been educated to pay cash. I say "educated," but really it is the education of necessity—of compulsion—because we cannot obtain those services in any other way.

If you incline to the theory that "credit" is a permanent and necessary part of our trading system, why is it that such an important ruling is only applied to part of our

economic life instead of to all? For the following services, for example, payments in advance are the rule: postal facilities, telegrams and cables, wireless programmes, travel by railway, sea, bus or plane, insurance, meals in restaurant, taxes, rates, licences, motor, wireless, etc., theatres, cinemas and all other entertainment.

Why should one unhesitatingly pay in advance for those things and many others—and owe for the rest for periods varying from a week to years? Is it not merely a matter of habit rather than necessity, and does not the fact indicate that there is no real reason why “cash in advance” could not be the general rule?

“Credit” implies a willingness and the ability to pay. Because of the inborn honesty of the average person this system has become a well-established part of our life, but in spite of this there can be no doubt that “credit” does and must mean higher prices. For instance there is the risk of bad debts and this has to be insured against, and that insurance takes the form of a certain increase on “overheads.” In addition there is the cost of “book-keeping,” in many businesses a costly item. Further, few would deny that “credit” does offer loopholes for dishonest traders and persons.

One of the most extraordinary aspects of the case is the fact that the sounder one's financial position, the more extended the “credit” available, so that the question of necessity which alone can justify “credit” does not always arise. Surely that is an anomaly. The mere fact that one is in a position to pay should, as a matter of principle, mean immediate payment of all debts, yet the poorer the person and the greater the need, so the more difficult it is to secure the vital necessities of life without paying cash.

THE TEMPTATION TO OWE

The system of “credit”—originally a simple, temporary

measure to help those who depended upon the produce of the land to tide over the period of waiting while crops came to maturity and ripened, has grown into a complicated machine which controls not only business but is eating its way into every phase of life. Indeed the temptation to be in debt assails the individual on every side; one is urged to possess houses in suburban or rural districts equipped with all the modern appliances of domestic science: furniture, jewellery, radio, every luxury one can possibly imagine—and owe for it.

In common with the majority of men of his generation, the writer was brought up to view debt with horror. Longfellow's "Village Blacksmith," who "owed not any man," was not a creation of the poet's brain but a symbol of the sheer honesty of the men of the Victorian era. We were taught that it was better to starve than owe, and to fear debt as the greatest of all evils; to-day the lesson is completely reversed—"enjoy the pleasures of so-and-so while you pay for it" is a common enough slogan; a dangerous principle that is not only undermining the honesty of our people but also their happiness.

We are living in an era of indebtedness, if not insolvency, and it is time someone tried to convince thoughtful men and women that the great disasters of financial and business life, and the widespread misery that follows in their train, might be eliminated if this system of credit could be banished from our life.

WHY MONEY IS OWED

The simplest way, perhaps, to bring the reader's mind into alignment with our own, is to analyse the reason why money is owed. Speaking generally, *business men only owe money because money is owed to them*. It is a snowball movement which never ends. No honest man likes owing money. Debt, and the fear of not being able to pay, brings even the

strongest of men to mental breakdown. Yet a system is tolerated whereby an unscrupulous trader in a big way of business may by declaring his business insolvent, bring disaster to an ever-widening circle of the trading community—and even to the public at large.

Remember this:

A bankruptcy or liquidation does not end with the winding up of the firm or business liquidated. *Every failure of this kind jeopardizes to a lesser or greater degree the businesses of all who have come within the scope of its operations; and through them to an even wider circle—other businesses giving credit to those firms who were the original sufferers, and so on down the scale.*

Though the law of Limited Liability limits the liability of the defaulting concern, it does not and cannot limit the undeserved suffering that every failure brings in its wake.

Now what it is vitally necessary to drive home is this—In the case of a big failure, the amount of the loss and the number of creditors involved may be colossal, but its real magnitude can only be estimated by the extent to which such a failure affects the solvency of the creditors.

A hundred firms may be directly involved through the original failure, and the losses of a percentage of them may be so great as to upset *their* financial stability. In other words, their credit also may become involved and because of that, the credit of others with whom they do business and so on and on. This is no flight of imagination; such cases are published in the papers with monotonous frequency—the story of the efforts of Messrs. Jones & Shakespear Ltd., to corner pepper and shellac is still in the minds of all—mainly because of the high standing of other firms brought to ruin through this crash.

The amazing thing is that these things happen and happen again, yet no one seems to think it might be possible to trace the cause to its rightful source—"Credit."

A FEW AND ENLIGHTENING EXAMPLES

It is now necessary to prove that the losses caused by bankruptcies and liquidations do reach a sum that is worthy of notice. From the *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom* the following has been secured.

INSOLVENCIES UNDER THE BANKRUPTCY ACTS AND DEEDS OF ARRANGEMENT ACTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

	<i>Bankruptcies</i>	
	Number	Liabilities
		£
1913	3,358	5,091,265
1928	4,165	7,883,589
1929	3,929	9,122,839
1930	4,133	9,519,048
1931	4,403	11,115,491
1932	4,645	10,131,126
1933	4,110	6,595,204

An average of over £8,000,000 a year.

It seems impossible to secure the figures relating to the liquidation of limited companies but we all know from newspaper reports how appallingly high such losses are. Below is reprinted an actual report relating to a man who began business with a capital of £100.

"The public examination was held in the London Bankruptcy Court to-day of Charles William Dickinson, stock and share dealer, who had carried on business in Fenchurch Street, E.C.

"He was described in receiving orders as Frederick C. Owen (a firm) and C. W. Dickinson (male).

"His statements of affairs showed gross liabilities £272,337, of which £266,321 were returned as due to 762 unsecured creditors, £271,512 as expected to rank. Assets were given as furniture £75, required in part payment of preferential claims.

"Examined by Mr. S. W. Wood, Official Receiver, Mr.

Dickinson said that he served in the Navy for many years. After 1918 he was in employment until the middle of 1924.

"In that year an old friend suggested that he, Dickinson, and another person should begin business as stock and share dealers. This they did in Fenchurch Street under the style of Frederick C. Owen.

"The capital was £100. The business mainly consisted of inviting people to speculate in shares 'on margin.' Shares were never bought. They merely acted as bookmakers, but at one time there was as much as £280,000 Railway Stock open."

Another example. Everyone remembers the Hatry crash, and again an immense sum of money was involved. The *Daily Mail* of November 30th, 1935, contained a report of the liquidation of a company, the failure of which was due to losses of £2,269 in the Hatry crash.

It is a pity that the whole figures relating to the liquidations of companies are not available. All that we know is that in 1933 there were 342 compulsory liquidations by order of the Court, and 2,600 voluntary liquidations.

Before reading further just sit quietly in your chair and let your memory drift back over the years of your own life. Recall the great financial scandals and crashes of your time and the resulting poverty to thousands that followed in their trail—Hooley, Whitaker Wright, Farrow's Bank, Bevan, Hatry. The stock answer is "the money was not lost, it must be in circulation somewhere." Of course it is, but there is no denying the fact that every penny was lost to its rightful owner and such robbery should be well within the skill of our legal geniuses to prevent. Think well about these losses and perhaps your mind will then become more attuned to the writer's.

AN IMPORTANT POINT

Before proceeding to show what would probably happen if this policy of "No CREDIT" became the accepted basis

of all business transactions, it would be well to show that to all intents and purposes, this theory actually is in operation in all established concerns.

Note the word "established."

When a firm becomes firmly established it means that its sales produce a sum greater than the total cost of producing and marketing. In both sections of the business—the buying and marketing on one hand and the total sum produced by sales on the other—the sums involved are known and can usually be depended upon on the law of averages. The business is therefore firmly established and shows at least a small profit. Is it not true that in every case where this is so it is the usual practice to make payment every month to the extent of the previous month's liabilities—so that on a given day each month the firm technically owes nothing?

By dividing the history of such firms into two periods we have

1st period—A time when sales are not sufficient to cover expenditure.

2nd Period—Sales cover expenditure, payments are made each month to cover liabilities—thus cash payment is practically in being.

Let it be perfectly clear that this condition only comes with success—but once sales balance costs, the regular system of monthly payments is actually equivalent to paying cash—so far as the sum involved is concerned. So that, providing a firm is originally equipped with sufficient funds to see them through the period prior to the time when sales produce a sum that equals costs (and it is part of our theory that no man should be allowed to start a business unless he is so equipped), credit is not afterwards necessary for the mere running of the business. Ask business men what causes them the greatest anxiety, and the answer of a

vast majority would be "Book Debts"—in other words, giving "credit."

How serious this question is, is amply demonstrated by the vast organizations which exist for the protection of traders.

The effect of "credit" upon trade has probably been overlooked because generally speaking all financial operations begin with the banks—banks live on "credit" so it is useless to begin our study of the situation from their viewpoint. In the first place, no bank would dream of giving credit—in other words, overdrafts or loans—without pretty safe security, and that is why the bankers view that "credit" must be an essential part of our economic system, has no weight. If credit—in all spheres of life and trading—were only allowed if and when ample securities are lodged by the creditor, a great many of the objections to credit would be removed. But book debts are rarely covered by securities. Business men trust each other—often with but the slightest knowledge of each other's financial position—as no bank would trust them—and that is why bankruptcies and liquidations happen with such frequency.

The writer has discussed these theories with many business men and has yet to meet one who does not agree with his reasonings. Playing a round of golf with a friend, a bank manager, he put the whole proposition to him. Naturally the bank manager would have none of it. So he was asked: "*Where is the modern banking organization that would dare to give credit on the same basis that is enforced upon business men by custom?*" This was an unanswerable question; nevertheless, they argued about the idea the whole morning to the detriment of golf, and the boredom of the caddies. The banks will no doubt raise objections to the whole scheme even though their own policy is one of "safety first." Indeed, so firmly is one convinced of the banks'

ability to take care of themselves that as you will read later, it is proposed to make them the only source through which "credit" can be obtained.

Now let us go back to the other end of the scale—the private individual.

We all know people who seem totally incapable of living within their means. Money is owed to the baker, butcher, tailor, doctor, dentist and any other shop or store which will give "credit."

Why people are allowed to run up such huge accounts is an unfathomable mystery—but they do.

Possibly the beginnings were small and only fear of losing the whole sum makes the poor retailer continue to supply goods. You know how it happens—Mr. and Mrs. Owit, obviously living in style, open an account with the local butcher and baker. Week by week supplies are delivered, but no payments are forthcoming. Necessity and fear at last force these tradesmen to ask for payment. And how meekly they do it.

What happens? They are put off with promises or a small sum on account. It is not necessary to continue the story—retailers—the one shop man—and the proprietors of huge stores, all have this problem to a lesser or greater degree. They know that in the majority of cases they will never get the whole of the sum owed—the outstanding debt always remains and they seem content to secure a sum that is equivalent to the current purchases of the customer in question. Now if this type of person could not get credit, their purchases would be limited according to their ability to pay. Surely there can be no better argument than that they should? Selling more goods to a person than the person can afford to buy, is not business; it is merely a system of adding book debts which will never be cleared, and which, though entered upon the credit side of the ledger and adding to the volume of turnover, should, more rightly

be on the debit side, for every such account adds a gradual but ever-increasing cost in clerical work.

It is obvious that if "no credit" ever comes into being as no doubt it will some day—it must begin with the public. There would, of course, have to be a transition period—say, six months, during which business men and public alike would have to prepare for the change.

LET US SEE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN.

Now let us consider what would happen if a law came into being which made the giving of credit in any form an illegal act.

The money movement begins with the public—individuals of every class in the mass. The basis of all expenditure is wages or income. Wages are the immediate payment for work done. Income may be wages, or if you prefer the word, salaries, plus profits from investments, etc. It is upon these things that the whole economic structure is built.

Wages or salaries are paid in the currency of the realm.

Under the suggested new law it would only be possible to secure the necessities and luxuries of life by handing over to the shopkeeper cash. It would not be possible to postpone those payments even for a day. So that the shopkeeper—no matter how huge or small his business—is all the time exchanging goods for cash.

Once the scheme is in full operation, by the law of the land, he, or they, will have already paid for the goods they are selling—just as the factor or manufacturer had previously paid cash for the raw materials used in their making. So we come to the point—that throughout the whole chain of production and selling—from the grower or maker of raw materials—the manufacturer—factor—retailers—all have been paid *because of the simple fact that the only one of them who comes into contact with the actual purchaser is assured*

of immediate cash payment. Because of that simple elementary fact nobody owes any money at all. Therefore, being no debtors, there can be no bankruptcies, no liquidations and a new and tremendous sum of money is put into rightful circulation—money that will be badly needed.

THE PRINCIPLE OF NO-CREDIT ALREADY ACCEPTED

It has already been shown that we are at least half-way along this road to "No Credit." We know that we cannot send a cable or telegram without payment first—we know that if we wish to enjoy the pleasures of the theatre, concert hall or cinema, our hands must first of all go into our pockets. We do all these things and many others similar without any sense of hardship; is it then unreasonable to assert that the bringing of all other purchases into line cannot possibly entail difficulty or hardship of any kind to the individual?

Any hardship there is must, of course, begin with the retailer because once the scheme is in full operation, say six months after its application to the general public, the whole of the stock of his shop must be paid for in cash on or before delivery. Maybe this fact will result in a general reduction of stocks everywhere. The existing system in many trades, especially luxury trades, of giving long credit will be definitely at an end; the temptation to attract trade by means of displays which one's turnover does not justify is eliminated, and every retailer will perforce cut his coat according to his cloth—in other words the size of his stock will depend entirely upon the amount of his capital. On the other hand, he is safe in the knowledge that he in turn will receive actual cash for every sale. If he is a business man worthy of the name he will know from experience just how long on the average it takes him to turn over stock—a knowledge which also governs the minimum amount of

capital needed. The same argument also applies to the wholesaler and manufacturer, though the latter's costs include probably a higher percentage of wages than do the retailer's.

However, each has had six months to prepare for the change and though the new system may in some cases temporarily entail increased capital, this difficulty is offset by the future absence of book debts.

That then is the case for "No Credit" so far as it affects the public and general trading. But, how will it work in the case of professions, such as the writer's own—advertising—or the building trade and contractors generally?

Manufacturers and factors are the chief clients of advertising agents, and how often has the failure of one of them brought complete disaster to their agent and severe losses to the newspapers of the country? If such firms had been forced to pay the agent in advance for the space it was proposed to use—just as the agent would have had to pay the newspaper proprietors, they would perforce have had to think twice before embarking upon campaigns which perhaps were neither justified by their bank balance nor the turnover of their business.

So far as "Credit" is used for the extension or development of shops and factories and the purchase of machinery, its elimination need cause no confusion.

Under the "No Credit" conditions, buildings and alterations—plants and equipment—and all other necessities, must be paid for in cash. Neither builder nor manufacturer of plant may accept "Bills" or give credit. If the capital of the firm wishing so to develop is not sufficient for its needs, it must either increase that capital or secure the necessary money from the banks who are quite capable of looking after themselves.

Is it not possible that by eliminating credit many a sound business would be prevented from embarking upon risky programmes?

"That's all very well" some will say, "but your scheme will knock all that grand old spirit of adventure and the joy of a gamble out of business; after all, it is the man who is prepared to take risks that accomplishes big things—look at So-and-so, and So-and-so."

The answer is—gamble as much as you like, there is nothing in the "No Credit" system to stop you. The only difference is, you must gamble with your own firm's money—not at the expense of those from whom you buy.

If you think big stocks will attract trade, well why not? But why expect the manufacturers to share the risks of your experiment? If you think a much larger shop will double sales—again, why not? But don't expect architects, builders and shopfitters to share your risk—it's your little gamble—win or lose.

But what is the position of the big stores and many other retail establishments who do a vast volume of business over the 'phone and by post?

The answer to the latter is simple—money with order. The 'phone question, however, is different. We have been educated by the Government to use the 'phone for every conceivable purpose. Ordering goods by 'phone has come to stay but there are two or three ways out of the difficulty:

- (a) Payment on delivery.
- (b) C.O.D. by post.
- (c) By the customer always having a "credit" deposit.

A credit deposit will undoubtedly be one of the first developments if "No Credit" ever comes into being.

By this means customers who are in the habit of ordering by 'phone will be requested to leave a cash deposit with any firm with whom they do business and to replace the sum immediately it has been exhausted.

Finally! Try and visualize the financial confusion that

would result if the great British banks gave unsecured credit, i.e. loans and overdrafts, in the same way business men are forced to do every day of their lives. Such a thing is unthinkable, yet the banks are the servants of, and owe their being to those selfsame business men.

If you still feel convinced that such a change is impossible let your thoughts go to the many huge retail concerns who manage to run their business exclusively and successfully on the "No Credit" principle of, which—"Boots," the Cash Chemists, "Woolworth's," one of the most popular chain of shops in existence; "Marks & Spencers"—a similar organization; and "Sainsbury's" the grocers and provision merchants, are examples.

If it is possible for "Boots" to educate the public to pay cash for medical and toilet necessities, why can't every other chemist? If "Sainsbury's" can sell grocery and provisions on the same basis what is to prevent other grocers doing similarly? So on the face of it, the proposition is not so outrageous as it seemed and the country would find those "book balances" very useful in the slump period that seems almost certain to follow the war.

Of course it may be more practicable to effect the change gradually over a period of years, dealing with groups, the retail trade first, then the wholesale houses, and finally the manufacturers, a year dividing each development.

THE POSITION OF FIRMS TRADING ON DEFERRED PAYMENTS

To anyone with a Victorian and Edwardian upbringing the lengths to which the Deferred Payment plan has gone seems credit madness. From this the reader will guess the writer dislikes the whole principle of Deferred Payments, but at the same time he realizes that it has advantages. His objections are mainly due to a feeling that firms trading on this basis tempt the public to mortgage their

incomes and to spend more in luxuries than their incomes warrant.

In the ideal community, particularly one exhausted by war, the aim should be to make it easy for the masses to earn—not, as it is to-day, easy for them to spend, particularly on luxuries.

Now, against this is, of course, the fact that the fewer the things the public buy, the less there is for our factories to do. But there is spending—and spending. Let us go back to “wages and income” as the basis of the economic system. The first call upon all wages and incomes is for the necessities of life—food, clothing and warmth—simple elementary things. All purchases beyond come into the category of luxuries in varying degrees—luxuries only because life can be maintained without them. Further, it must be remembered that wages and incomes are not elastic—if, after a sum has been set aside for necessities, the balance is expended upon one group of purchases, a piano, radio set, or furniture, for instance, it cannot be spent upon any other group; that is definite, because the ready money is exhausted. It is in the spending of what may be termed the “luxury portion” of one’s income that trouble comes. If through the temptation of deferred payments one buys a motor car or larger house than one’s income justifies, and thereby allows too much of one’s wage or income to be absorbed, some other expenses, and possibly a vitally necessary expense, has to be cut. In other words, if the motor dealer or the builder gets more than his share of the luxury margin, then the tailor, the jeweller or even the grocer and many another tradesman, does not get his.

In the case of the average wage-earner, this luxury margin is very small. From it the family’s clothes, doctor’s bills, holidays, and in fact all items of pleasure, and many unexpected expenses have to be paid. How can this be

done if that margin is mortgaged? Nevertheless, the deferred payments are with us and the fact must be faced.

If one attempted to abolish deferred payments completely such an enormous organized trade would be affected that there is no possible chance of such a proposal being carried through. The process of selling by deferred payments, however, must be made more difficult; for one thing, those who sell by deferred terms should carry the whole risk.

If such firms are foolish enough to contract to supply an impecunious person with valuable goods without proper investigation as to that person's means, or without effective guarantees, such firms should take the whole risk; the remedy is in their own hands. This may seem harsh but not unreasonably so. In the first place—these risks are included in estimating overhead costs, and it is unjust to include such an item in overheads and then expect to collect one's losses a second time. Further, all such firms have their systems of investigation; it is merely a matter of tightening the system up—a more careful investigation of a customer's means and where doubt arises, the insistence of a guarantee or security, as a bank would, before delivering the goods. At the present time it is much too easy for impecunious persons to buy goods they cannot afford, and firms continuing to supply such people should alone be responsible for the results of the transaction.

If one wishes to borrow say two hundred pounds from a bank it is only possible to do so by giving adequate security. Why should this rule be applied to gold or its equivalent and not to furniture, motor cars, jewellery, etc., valued at a similar sum? It may be argued that in making sales by deferred payments difficult, one would stop the proper circulation of money. But that is utter rot.

Wages are not elastic; if too much is spent upon extra clothes then it is obvious it cannot be spent upon cinemas,

motors or anything else. Thus, if persons are induced to become involved in a series of payments for furniture or a car they cannot really afford, money is simply being guided to a hard and fast channel instead of a more mobile group. Therefore, sales effected by deferred payments do not really increase the circulation of money; but often cause a danger of over-spending, thus mortgaging future income, and future incomes are of necessity an unknown factor.

THE POSITION OF LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANIES. CREDIT AND INVESTMENT

It was said by the bank manager on that never-to-be-forgotten morning of good argument and bad golf, that if the ideal of "No Credit" is realized there will be nothing for the investor to do with his money, because investments are credit. Surely, this is a confusion of terms. If one owes money it means one has a liability which has to be met. On the other hand, if one has £1,000 invested in a business, that is an asset, at least, if one has invested wisely; and in any case it cannot possibly be brought into the category of "money owing."

For the £1,000 one receives "shares" or perhaps a partnership—in any case something has been purchased for which cash has been paid.

Now while upon this subject of invested money, it may be just as well to investigate the risks every investor is called upon to take in these days of huge and complicated financial transactions.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO PREVENT FINANCIAL TRICKERY?

During the past few years the public have lost through the unscrupulous methods of financiers an appalling sum, and it seems ridiculous that such frauds should be possible.

Admittedly, when found out, the gentlemen responsible are punished, but that is an empty satisfaction to men and

women who have lost the savings of a lifetime. Is it impossible to prevent financial trickery? It should not be. How are frauds committed? Is it not chiefly by the manipulation of books and accounts—an operation so skilfully accomplished that even the most reliable auditors and boards of directors are deceived?

The great weakness is the present method of appointing directors for their financial and social standing rather than for their business ability. Is it not obvious that so long as this type of man is allowed to hold such appointments, there must be a serious weakness in our methods of controlling business and money?

It would perhaps be better if salaried directorships as such were completely abolished. To qualify for a directorship a person should, apart from any sum he or she has invested in a business, be capable of, and actually control, at least one department of the firm's activities, for which services, of course, he would be paid. By this means it would be possible to prevent the acceptance of innumerable directorships merely for the purpose of drawing fees. This would not affect a person's investments, but it would prevent those in possession of unlimited capital or, as in many cases, because they have a respected name, from drawing two dividends—one in the form of director's fees—one straightforward dividend—merely because they possess the required capital. Business wants clearing of this drain upon its resources. In the majority of cases it gets no return for the expenditure because, with the exception of studying the annual balance sheet, these surplus directors have little or no knowledge of business at all. Certain it is that they cannot and do not prevent fraud, and to be quite frank, business as it is to-day cannot afford to know them.

The next point, and perhaps the most important of all, is to make it illegal to use or loan the money of one company

to tide sister companies over bad or difficult times without legal sanction. This simple act alone would have made many of the colossal frauds of the past impossible and would have saved millions of pounds sterling to the public.

Now we come to the question of safeguarding public investors, particularly those with a few hundreds of pounds and totally ignorant of the money market. All limited liability companies have to be registered. The Government seem to look upon this act merely from the viewpoint of revenue rather than of rendering a service to the investing public. Why should not the act of accepting Stamp Duties be the Government's guarantee to the public that the men concerned with floating the company are men of repute and honesty. In other words, no public limited liability company should be allowed to issue its prospectus before the Government department at Somerset House has inspected its terms and satisfied itself regarding the records of the men behind it.

Admittedly, this would make company promotion difficult—we want to make it difficult—and safe. Honest firms will welcome and even be willing to pay extra duties to secure the Government's seal as to its probity, and the interests of the whole community of investors would be safeguarded.

CHAPTER NINE

THE PROBLEM OF CRIME

IT is with some trepidation that a chapter on crime is included in this book. Somehow or other it does not seem to fit in.

Crime, however, does form a part in our national life and unless something is done about it, always will. Appalling harshness and humane leniency have both been tried, and both equally have failed. A few decades ago those who studied the question expressed the view that the chief causes of crime were poverty and bad housing conditions. Undoubtedly, this was so in the nineteenth century and before, but it is neither poverty nor bad housing conditions that have brought the modern scientific criminal and criminal groups into being, but something much more alarming—an overwhelming confidence in criminally minded men of their ability to “beat” the police as often as the police beat them.

Further, crime in many of its aspects has become a scientific and perfectly organized business. Fear of punishment seems no deterrent and it would seem that the governments of the civilized world view the extermination of crime as an impossible task and are content if they can confine the activities of the criminally minded within reasonable limits.

CAN THE CRIMINAL BE DEFEATED?

Of course he can, for in spite of the great skill and efficiency of the modern scientific criminal, it is impossible to believe there are not honest brains even more capable and efficient.

The modern criminal "gets away with it" only because of lethargy on the part of his victim or victims. Lethargy! what a word to use about a man who has been robbed.

Yes, lethargy, and that lethargy is caused because, if we leave out murder and the big bank and financial frauds, in cases of all kinds of robbery, *no matter the extent of the loss*, no one loses, except perhaps sentimentally.

No one loses, though jewels to the value of tens of thousands of pounds sterling, stocks of equal value, or clothes and furniture, and a hundred and one other things have disappeared, probably for ever.

NO ONE LOSES

Yes! no one loses because in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the probability is that the whole loss is covered by insurance.

"Even so," you say, "the insurance company loses."

Again, no. They too are covered, for insurance tables based on the law of averages cover such a contingency. Insurance companies are in business for profit, and make profits, good ones, as their balance sheets show. Is it not possible that this fact of being able to safeguard oneself against loss through the depredations of criminals, is the basic cause of the rapid growth and scientific development of crime, and the increasing profits therefrom?

If there were no insurance companies, and those who suffered loss from burglaries, smash-and-grab raids, and a hundred and one similar crimes, had to bear that loss, there would be such an outcry against the criminal class that penalties would perforce be made more drastic and the war against them more effectively waged.

This last statement seems to cast a slur upon Scotland Yard and the police force everywhere. That is not intended. All it is wished to show is that if insurance were not available, every one of us would take greater precautions for

the protection of his property, and so make it more difficult for criminally minded persons to prosper.

But there it is. The habit of insuring—or passing the risk on—is engrained in almost every phase of our life, with the result that the insurance companies are among the richest and have become the financial backers of governments.

It's all so comforting: comforting to the thief, if he ever has a qualm of conscience; comforting to the one robbed, to know his loss will be refunded: comforting to the insurance companies who have the genius to pay all such losses and still accumulate great wealth.

What can one do about it?

Just nothing; but this does not alter the fact that each one of us in thus shelving our risks contributes to the cause that have brought crime to its present high proportions.

What we must do, however, is to try to discover some means of knocking the profit out of crime.

In the first place, are we not too sentimental about these criminals? Are we not inclined to admire too greatly the skill with which they pit their wits against the police and law generally, and so often defeat both?

Crime novels have perhaps helped to generate this attitude on our part. The gentleman criminal of the novel who beats the police every time awakens some chord within us that is inexplicable except that it may, perhaps, be traceable to hereditary causes, but nothing will tempt the writer to pursue that subject.

The confirmed criminal is an outlaw, and should be treated as such; indeed, it is only if we view the problem from this standpoint that the solution can be found. Can there be any reason why the hard-working honest majority of people should be held up at the pistol point of a lazy criminal-minded minority? Why should they? Just think of the contemptible exploitation by the "Black Market"

during the war, and how difficult the authorities found its suppression to be. Criminals such as these are beyond the pale, utterly depraved, completely unscrupulous, the worst examples of all in the get-rich-quick phase that is sweeping the world.

MOTORING OFFENCES

By a strange coincidence, during the process of revising this chapter, someone turned on the wireless in the writer's home and what should be heard but the voices of members of the Brains Trust discussing this very subject. Though too late to hear the actual question, it was obvious that, however it was phrased, the minds of the speakers had gone immediately to motoring offences.

Miss Fry was speaking. She thought it a pity "ridicule" was no longer a punishment and suggested that if every offender against motoring laws was forced to carry a picture of a Hog on the back of his car, such offences would soon dwindle.

Another member replied that in America the police adopted the more gruesome method of forcing those involved in accidents causing injury or death to visit hospitals to see the often terrible consequences to the human body.

What puzzles one, however, is this. The question centered around crime. With the evidence of so much organized scientific crime in our midst, why did the thoughts of these brainy folk turn so quickly to this one branch of crime that strong official action could stop in a month?

Yes, that is true; the terrible annual slaughter on the roads of Britain would become a thing of the past if the Government would order drastic restrictions for a month.

What are these drastic restrictions? Heavier sentences and heavier fines?

No, these things never deter a fool, and here again is seen the effect of insurance.

With double-track arterial roads; with every other important thoroughfare "white lined" and every danger spot adequately marked with signs, the roads of this country should be perfectly safe.

Yet, since the war started, 18,000 persons have been killed on the roads of Britain, and of these 10,000 were pedestrians. No matter what the police may do in the way of intensifying supervision, heavier sentences and fines, this loss will go on until the Government say to the whole motoring community—"Very well, as nothing we say or do seems to have any effect, we will now make it impossible for a car to seriously injure, let alone kill, any pedestrian. For a month the speed limit on every road or thoroughfare will be reduced to 20 miles per hour in the case of private cars and 15 for commercial vehicles.

"After a month, these temporary restrictions will be lifted, but if subsequently the number of deaths or accidents again becomes increasingly high, the 20-mile limit will once more be enforced. Mr. and Mrs. Motorist, it is up to you!"

And when one comes to think of it, it is; for every one of us motorists must bear a share of the blame for those deaths. Do we ever go for a run without seeing some fool of a driver taking risks that place the lives of others in danger? What do we do about it? We swear, and just do nothing, and because of this mentality of ours, 9,000 innocent users of the road die in a year.

For goodness knows how many years the police and the local authorities have tried to stem the rot and failed, and now the motorist in his millions must tackle the job.

But, you say, a speed limit of 20 miles an hour would make driving a boring hell. That is just what we want it to be. It is necessary to make the motorist so bored with "crawling" that he will learn to hate and despise the

reckless fools of the road who were the cause of it. He must be taught to so hate the road hog that he will take the number of the offending car and give it with details to the first policeman he sees, and also be prepared to give evidence in order to obtain a conviction.

Once we create such an atmosphere of high national duty, careless drivers will know that not only the police are their enemies, *but the occupants of every car they pass.*

Further, during that month the authorities would be able to prove beyond all doubt that it is "speed" as well as bad driving that causes fatal accidents, for it is a matter of doubt if it is possible for a car travelling at 20 miles per hour to cause even a serious accident, let alone death.

Do not think for a minute that such a restriction should be permanent. Just the reverse, but it is necessary for the authorities to show motorists that they are determined to stop this appalling slaughter and show them one way of doing it. The rest is up to the motorist.

But we have wandered away from the larger aspect of this question of crime, so let us return to the subject right away.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO PREVENT CRIME?

Crime in these enlightened times is rightly viewed as a disease—an infectious disease, of course—and as such naturally the victim must be isolated. The point is—can crime be eliminated from amongst our midst? Even to ask such a question verges on the ridiculous when one cannot open a paper without being appalled by the exploits of the modern highwaymen and shop raider. Still it is possible to bring crime down to the point when it is not worth while and to do so without incurring anything like the present cost.

It is not necessary here to go into the causes that lead men and women to take up a life of crime; we are concerned

only with preventing crime, and perhaps eliminating serious crime altogether. The suggestions that follow are merely the writer's own thoughts. Some may laugh at them, but—and this is his sincere hope—some may see in them perhaps the germ of an idea that may lead to the solution of this terrible and costly problem.

Possibly the herding of criminals in hundreds in large jails and convict prisons may be the primary mistake. This system, which has been in vogue for centuries, has never yet deterred the habitual criminal nor lessened crime. The riots and disturbances in Dartmoor and other penal settlements is evidence of this fact; surely, much smaller establishments would be less costly and have a much greater chance to succeed in the work of reclamation.

In dealing with criminals the first aim must of necessity be to reclaim. This means that a new habit of mind must be instilled; a mind that realizes, quite apart from the moral side of the question, that it is more profitable to lead an honest life than a dishonest one. In the case of a mind that is incurably diseased with crime, the task is impossible and should be recognized as such. Where, however, the disease is not firmly entrenched, it should not be impossible to create a new decision to run straight.

So we have two categories of criminals—the curable and the incurable—and this scheme has for its first object the discovery and separating of the two categories when they fall into the clutches of the law.

Now, it has been suggested that our huge penal settlements should be abolished in favour of a greater number of smaller and more easily controlled establishments. These establishments should be divided into three classes: the first, for "first offenders." The second, for those who have been convicted before. The third, for those whom no punishment except isolation will deter from continuing a career of crime.

The routine in each establishment would differ, but the object in the first two would be the reclaiming of the individual, first, by suggestion, secondly, through a fear of the consequences if the individual persists in crime.

All prisoners would be employed upon constructive work from which the most capable could profit. But even so, it is not the intention to allow sentiment to blind us to the fact that every one of these prisoners has offended the law. The policy should be to be as lenient as possible in the handling of young offenders (first) and definitely find employment for them for the first few months after their discharge, even if it has to be on Government work. It is essential for all convicted persons to have a fair opportunity for running straight.

It is generally admitted that it is the habitual criminal who presents the great problem. Periods of penal servitude seem no deterrent to this type, and if this is so, what is the good of inflicting a punishment which merely isolates for a period and then releases the individual for further nefarious exploits?

Surely the habitual criminal should not be released at all, any more than other mentally diseased persons. Such persons are at least as dangerous to the public as the average lunatic. Indeed they are mental cases, and if two sentences are not sufficient to wean them from the error of their ways, surely it is evident their minds are permanently depraved.

In dealing with serious crime, the plan should be to lighten sentences for the first and second offence, and make isolation for life the only sentence for a third offence. In this way it would be possible to discover and segregate the permanent criminal before he has time to develop a serious career of crime; prevent the breeding of a criminal class; and perhaps, more important still, save thousands from a career of crime.

Thus we have three classes: (a) first offenders; (b) second offenders; (c) habitual criminals fit only for permanent isolation.

It is not necessary to deal with the question of classes (a) and (b) more than briefly, because into these classifications will come so many categories of crime, from cases of petty larceny to the great financial swindle. The latter offender is not the source from which the incorrigible criminal comes. He, the incorrigible criminal, often begins with petty larceny and through association with criminals becomes a pest.

Now let us see if it is not possible to discover a way by which a life of crime can be made unprofitable and therefore not worth while.

Sentences of 3, 5, 10 or even 15 years have not proved a deterrent, and by inflicting such sentences one merely removes the culprit temporarily from society, knowing full well that on release his depredations will begin all over again.

A first sentence should not exceed six months, or a second two years. Thus, from the commencement of a career of crime, to the revealing of the habitual criminal, would not entail more than a few years.

To prevent first and second offenders committing a third and final offence, they should have a daily reminder of what such a crime means. In every cell this warning should be permanently displayed, and on release, the prisoner should be given a final verbal warning by the official responsible for discharge. The warning, of course, is: "Remember if you offend a third time, this will be taken as evidence of a permanently depraved and diseased mind, and, if convicted, will mean your isolation for life."

This threat alone would undoubtedly save thousands from continuing a life of crime.

Briefly, then, the argument is that the habitual criminal is at least as dangerous to the public as the ordinary mental case, which we confine in asylums; indeed one would go so far as to say that in mental institutions men and women are detained who, at large, would not present more danger to the community than thousands of criminals do; and there is no reason why the one should be treated with greater consideration than the other. Both as a rule offend moral laws.

Criminals in Grade "2" establishments will know that it is their last chance of becoming honest citizens. If they are again sentenced it will mean that the Law considers them persons with a permanently depraved and criminal mind, and as such not fit again to mix with their fellow men. They will be treated as mentally deficient and isolated in a special centre for life. There would be no appeal. Every criminal so classed will have had two clear chances before being faced with this great and final punishment. The fact will, as part of the system, have been dinned into him, or her, during the whole period of the punishment, and surely this knowledge will act as a great deterrent.

The whole success of the scheme, naturally, depends upon discovering as quickly as possible those who may be definitely termed incurable criminals, and proceeding with the work of isolating them.

Now what are we going to do with those criminals sentenced to life isolation?

Make them work, and work profitably for the nation. They are healthy men and women with a mental kink. Rigorous punishment being no longer necessary, life should be made as tolerable for them as possible. They would be provided with the bare necessities of life only—bread, water, and a bed to sleep in—but they would also be provided with occupations that would enable them to earn

additional food, comforts and privileges in accordance with their capacity for work. So if they want butter and meat with their bread, this will be provided only if their day's output or task justifies the award. The whole aim of this proposal is to prevent the cost of isolating criminals from falling wholly upon hardworking citizens, as it does in the case of ordinary mental cases.

Definite industries should be embarked upon in these special institutions. The whole to be organized and run for profit as any other factory, the difference being, the work would be solely Government work; no wages would be paid and there would be no selling costs. Printing for Government Departments and making simple necessities for the Navy, Army and Air Force are the tasks one has in mind.

The inducement to work and work hard would be rewards of food, and even luxuries, better furnishing of the cell, wireless, and such-like amenities. Thus, if the criminal does a conscientious week's work, as does the average honest worker in everyday life, his mode of life would not be vastly different, only, of course, his liberty has been permanently lost.

Without going into the whole question more deeply than is necessary here, it is of course impossible to deal with the potential difficulties that will arise, because just as criminals vary, so do crimes; petty larceny is a very different matter from robbery with violence, but, after all, in the beginning crime is usually very elementary. In the case of first offenders, i.e. police court cases, the aim is to reclaim if such be at all possible. The more serious cases go automatically for trial, and even here a lighter sentence would be inflicted with the idea of reclamation. In both classes, however, the individual will know what will become of him if he offends again.

The chief difficulty comes in dealing with the man or

woman who has slipped unintentionally perhaps, into crime—the financial swindler, the embezzler, and such like. To-day, such offenders may receive sentences up to ten or fifteen years, and to class them with the ordinary first offender would be an act of injustice to those who have suffered through their crimes. Obviously, then, some modification of the scheme is necessary to deal adequately with these gentlemen. This, however, does not materially affect the issue, which is the simple one of deciding whether a person with a proved criminal mind does not present at least an equal danger to the community as a certified dangerous lunatic. Both have diseased minds, both are a danger to society, so why, when both are proved incurable, treat the one whose sin against the community is wilful less harshly than the other.

.

To the sentimental the suggestion to remove certain criminals permanently from the civilian community may seem harsh. No man or woman, they will say, can be so depraved as to be beyond the scope of reclamation. Unfortunately some are, and when this is the case it is unfair to those who strive hard to live a decent honest life that they should always be at the mercy of those scamps. By a remarkable coincidence this view was expressed in the *Star's* leading article of March 12th, 1942. Speaking of "Black Market" criminals it said:

"They must be blotted right out of our national life. Cannot some means be devised whereby, once convicted, they might be kept permanently segregated from their victims? Why not forced labour battalions for those who have finished their sentences? The fit ones could be sent to sweat and slave for the fighting troops. The unfit could do menial tasks at home. And, of course, all their loot should be confiscated. Forfeiture of property is a proper additional penalty for those who fatten on

the bloodshed of war. There ought to be a permanent gulf fixed between them and their decent fellow men."

So, you see, others beside the writer have arrived at the same conclusion with regard to the type of pest that obviously has no social conscience, and if the disease of crime is to be kept within bounds there is no alternative but segregation.

CONCLUSION

THIS, then, is a picture of England as it might be—a country from which the sordidness of poverty and unemployment has been expelled; a country which knows neither debt nor war; a people who have learned to appreciate the beauty and wonder of the things made by the hands of man, of personal and collective achievement, and discovered a new and higher plane of life.

Idealism, yes! But it must be remembered that the ideals of one generation often become a commonplace fact in a later.

Even as these words are being written the mighty, inspiring words of "There'll always be an England" are filling the room. The singer's voice, a rich baritone, seems to typify the very spirit that is England.

What then is this pleasant land of which the song tells? It is something more than the greenness of its grass; its mountains, hills and valleys; the peaceful rivers and open moors. These are but the background for the spirit of the people it has bred, the people of crowded cities, of the farms and rolling country-side, men and women who know no more of the world than that which lies within these sea-girt shores; the people whom no matter what comes—poverty, sickness, danger—the seas hold pent.

Yes, it is they who are "England" and no matter what England does to them, they must perforce "sit tight."

Those others who having wrested riches from the toil of workers hasten abroad to spend it when the bitter winds of England blow, or its pelting rain reduces whatever they may once have had of national spirit, to a paltry thing that has no name—what is England to them and to

the type who view England as a place to get away from, and who spend half their lives in foreign spas or cruising in the waters of the world, returning only to England at the call of hunting or of the "12th"—the men to whom others of a deeper shade of colour are "Dagos," no matter their culture or wealth? and whose arrogance has brought stigma to the name "Englishman" all over the world, even in the colonies and dominions?

Yes, it is time the conscience of the nation was awakened; it is time we recognized where our strength and our hope for the future lie; it is time we gave these all-the-year-round English, Scotch and Welsh workers a square deal. From their viewpoint the whole question is summed up in that word "security" which has been used so much in this book. Those who have never experienced the tragedy of unemployment cannot possibly imagine the despair, degrading hopelessness and the humiliation such a condition brings in its train. That millions of our fellow men may be destined for such a humiliating tragedy is unthinkable. Surely with the thought of the past few years still in our minds we shall not begrudge the simple little sacrifices that would make such a national disgrace impossible.

Remember these are the men who faced the dangers of the sea that we might be fed; men who courted death in the air rather than the hated Hun should set a foot on these loved shores; the men of Dunkirk, Libya, oh—everywhere where the battle of freedom had to be fought.

Very little has been written in this book about Russia and its social achievements. It is a pity really we do not know more about them. Many readers may have heard the story of Mr. Tom Barker's experiences in that land which was broadcast a short time ago. Communism may have its faults, but even its greatest enemies must admit its leaders possess vision, powers of organization, and a will

for action that in the past has been sadly lacking here and within the Empire.

It will do good to read those words of Mr. Barker again. He was speaking of Siberia, once a nightmare land of ice, snow, and prison camps. The following are extracts from his story:

"My own experience of Kuzbass began as long ago as 1921 in Moscow when I was co-opted to work on a scheme to develop this region as a colonist industrial undertaking. This meant the bringing from America of engineers, skilled workers, technical equipment, tools, seeds and even food to create a new standard of life. The pioneers had to pay their own fares to Leningrad from which they travelled for weeks to Kuzbass by rail box cars. With them went Manitoba wheat, coal-cutting machines, electric lamps, American axes, Rhode Island Reds, and so on. . . .

"Our first headquarters was the small industrial township of Kemerovo, spread on both banks of the Tom. There were three small mines on the eastern side of the river, and a small unfinished chemical plant on the opposite bank. Until 1926 this was the only chemical plant in the whole of Siberia. . . .

"Under our feet were prodigious quantities of coal; before our eyes the beginning of three hundred thousand square miles of the finest agricultural country. No need to starve or freeze here if work was properly organized. Into this country and its peoples we brought our American technical forces and equipment—new hoists, electric locomotives and lamps for the mines, while chemical engineers tackled the inoperative chemical plant, and coal began to flow high over the Tom on a cableway to its retorts. On the land our tractors fell to work on a twenty-five thousand acre farm, laying down wheat, rye, millet and flax. With headlights night was turned into day, and the work went on.

"Many of our new Russian workers were then living in holes in the hillsides for lack of houses. . . .

"Those were the beginnings in Kuzbass—the Blacksmith's Basin. To-day great and bustling towns stand where villages

were twenty years ago. Populations of eighty thousand to a hundred thousand are not uncommon. There are now great chemical combines, zinc concentrate plants, coal and iron mines, electric stations, and spreading away to the horizon prosperous State and collective farms.

"But king of the Kuzbass region and all Siberia, is the steel town named after Stalin. I took the earliest preliminary plans for Stalinsk from New York in 1926. This great city, second steel enterprise in the Soviet Union, was built in open country four miles from the county town of Kuznets. Words of mine cannot do justice to this triumph of Soviet Siberian construction built during four long savage Siberian winters. Stalinsk and its neighbouring mining towns are now exceeding all previous records in the output of coke and the fabricating of steel in helping to equip the valient Red armies in the battlefield. . . .

"Is it incidental that Englishmen, Americans, Slavs and Dutchmen worked in the beginning here with their Russian comrades? Was it a prophecy that we should all be united in 1941 against the steeled barbarism that strikes out of the west? Is the genius of man the creator, the builder and the pioneer to be overthrown by the harpies of death and destruction let loose on earth? The men of Kuzbass and their women know the answer. It is our answer too. . . ."

Now then, where within the British Empire can one point to a twenty-year achievement like that, and one asks, *Why?*

.

There is only one other part of the book needing further comment—"the future of women!" Whether we like it or not, woman has gained a position of equality with man in all civilized communities, and it is good that this should be so. Her new experiences will give her a greater insight into the perplexities that beset men in their perpetual strivings towards a higher plane of life, and, standing side by side in the immediate post-war period, sharing both

work and sacrifices, this new comradeship must produce not only a better understanding between the sexes, but also *a definite unified antagonism to all those things which in the past have led to war and the massacre of the sons of mothers.* Woman, in sacrificing her normal daily tasks and comfort to share with man the work of munition production and other war-time jobs, expressed something more than mere patriotism. She recognized a job to be done. Further, she knew that when that task was finally accomplished, another, equally important—winning the peace—had yet to be faced, and possibly it may be that in this very task woman may rise to her greatest heights, sometimes sacrificing her career in the interests of man (if she is convinced that such an act of self-denial be necessary) and working loyally with him to gain that security of home and livelihood both have so well and truly earned.

Yes, woman will be an important factor in helping man to attain a life "Fit for Heroes."

EPILOGUE

WHY has this book been written?

It was written because of a belief that in the possession of a mind, *every* man and woman has potential greatness that is gradually approaching a very high plane. The unrest all over the world is possible evidence of the fact, and if still further evidence is needed, it can surely be found among those men and women of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece, Holland, Norway, France, and other peoples, defying German rule in spite of appalling cruelties and bitter oppression.

What else than an overwhelming belief in the higher destiny of the human race could have so inspired these peoples and brought them to such heights that fear of torture and death did not deter them? Is it not also this same conviction that inspires the masses of Russia and causes them to lay in waste vast cities and the great structural achievements of the past twenty years. In this country the great awakening is showing itself in many directions. Who dreamed the common people of this land would have stood up to aerial bombardment with such amazing courage and fortitude? And whence comes that courage? Surely it is an inheritance from past generations who so doggedly and persistently fought injustice, and whose strivings so greatly raised our social structure. Mankind is ever striding upwards and it would seem that all that is best in the mankind of Europe see in Hitler and his precious new order an end to all such strivings—a retrograde movement that would take civilization back by five centuries. Millions have died that this shall not be. To us they have delegated the task of carrying the banner

onward. Shall we fail now, when, by submitting to a further short period of self-sacrifice, all that men have desired and striven for for centuries may well be within reach of achievement.

So we go back to the question asked in the beginning of this book. Why does God permit war? May it not be that in the ordeal now inflicted upon us the nations are being given a final choice between good and evil? The outcome, whatever that choice may be, must mean the beginning of a new era and in the present struggle, is it not possible we are passing through a process of purification in preparation for the even greater and final ordeal of reconstruction? The evidence all seems to point to this conclusion. From all parts of the world, from all classes and conditions of peoples, there is an insistence on a complete change in social philosophy. That this change must bring nearer the theory of life as ordained by Christ is surely true, and it now remains to be seen whether those who carry the torch of Christianity possess the same fortitude, the same courage, the same self-sacrificing sureness of belief that has brought the names and words of the first Disciples down to us through the centuries.

If this reasoning is true and mankind is within reach of a very high plane of life, the Church dare not fail him, for to fail now would completely undermine his belief in God—about the cruellest thing it would be possible to inflict upon men and women who have emerged from an ordeal such as no other generation has been asked to bear.

If one is inclined to view this belief in the high destiny of man with doubt and suspicion, travel with the writer along a trail of fact and vision. In a hundred or so years a great middle class has come into being; shopkeepers, from which class of trader come the men who created the huge stores and multiple retail establishments which form such a feature of our towns and cities; engineers and others

with ideas, who have built up Britain's great manufacturing organizations; chemists and doctors from whom there developed a class of scientists that laid the foundation of social progress; writers, artists, thinkers, all go to the making of this class.

It is safe to say that the vast majority of those enumerated above came from working-class stock, from which also come the members of the first Labour Cabinet and many present-day political leaders.

This represents the distance the fruits of man's mind have taken him in a generation from little more than serfdom, but it does not end the trail of fact. Skipping the past and coming to the future is it not safe to say that the sons of the great in Industry, Science and the Arts are taking mankind still farther along the road?

Now let us take to the trail of fancy, though it is fancy based on facts that are evident to all who possess seeing eyes.

During the past year boys and girls of sixteen or seventeen have been brought to the microphone to discuss with experienced social questioners what they thought should be done by the Government to help and guide them during the immediate years after leaving school. If one thing impressed the listener more than another it was the fact that these youngsters knew just what they wanted, and had the ability to put their point of view clearly. Week after week youngsters from factories, shops, offices, indeed from almost every kind of job, bared their souls to the question-master. Now the point is this: if those youngsters are representative of our new generation of youth, and there is no reason to believe they are not, there is a race rapidly growing up in whom the power to think intelligently has reached a higher degree than ever before. Possibly the education of these youngsters finished at fifteen or so, though many had taken the advantage of night schools and

technical colleges for further studies. Without exception those who came to the microphone desired more opportunities for study and it was revealed that in many parts of the country first-class arrangements are actually in being for this purpose.

In this book it is proposed to provide facilities for all kinds of study and training for youth of both sexes up to the age of twenty-one years, and even after, for the more than usually talented. Mass education of a quality never before dreamed.

It is the one proposal in this book assured of general acceptance. If this is so, think of the advantages the present and future generations of youngsters will have and the affect upon the future of the nation.

In preparation for the outpouring of thought, knowledge and ideas that will assuredly ensue, it is vitally necessary to lay the foundations of a social philosophy worthy of the opportunity. If this system of extended and advanced education merely guides the young to a way of earning more money more easily, the whole conception of such planning will be lost. As the "Begin with us" broadcasts showed, the mind of youth is "seeking." The end of that seeking must not be mere personal gain, we must create in their minds a vision of human greatness that will take them ever nearer to personal and national perfection.

We are of a generation that has been beguiled by the power of money and selfish accomplishment, it is a heritage we have no desire to pass on, but it will be passed on unless the causes that led the world to its present predicament are destroyed root and branch.

It will certainly be said that the full benefit of this educational experiment will affect only a minimum number of those upon whom it is conferred. Is this true? After all, all minds have a similar genesis and who can tell where

the spark that means so much will be found; but even if it is true, a process will be going on of separating the wheat from the chaff, *and in each succeeding generation the chaff will become less and less.*

It is less now than it was fifty years ago; it behoves us therefore, in planning the new Britain to bear this fact in mind, and think first of youth. If we do not, the danger is we shall be setting their feet on a path that will unfailingly lead them back to the horrors that have so sickened our own generation.

This, then, is the task before us; for its achieving we need PEACE, SECURITY, and above all, FAITH.

INDEX

(Compiled by J. W. MEARES)

- "ABERYSTWYTH"** song, 63
Aggressors, 13
 and war, 132
 fear of, 116
 Agricultural Colleges and
 Centres, 76
 Agriculture, 10
 and industry, 70
 Alberta, 90
 Allotments, 60
Already To-morrow Walks (A. G.
 Street), 88
 Anti-Christ, 126
 Apathy in the Church, 135
 Area of empty lands in the
 Empire, 65
 Assessment of married couples,
 103
 Asylums, criminals and, 169
 Australia, barren lands in, 87
 Mr. Street's analysis, 89
BABIES, *see* Children
 Bad debts, 141, 142
 B.B.C. and education, 99, 180
 and pacifism, 127
 Bankruptcy, after-effects of, 144
 et seq.
 Banks and credit, 148, 153, 154
 financial control of food-
 stuffs, 90
 "Bare walls" example, 15, 34
 Barker, Mr., on Russia, 175
 Barnado Homes, 69
 Bathing-pools, 59
 "Begin with us" broadcast, 181
 Bevan crash, 146
 "Black Market," 162, 171
 Board, Empire, *see* Empire
 Board
 Book-keeping, cost of, 142
 "Boots" (Chemists), cash deal-
 ings, 154
 "Boy who won't be kept down,"
 92, 93
 Brain-power *v.* money, 139
 "Breeding" and brains, 92
 Broadcast education, 99; *see*
 also B.B.C.
 Brotherhood of man, 28, 39, 41,
 121, 133, 136
 and war, 114 *et seq.*
 Brotherly love, 123
 Business women, 109
CABINET for the Empire, 86,
 87; *see* Empire
 Calvary, 123
 Canada and immigration, 69
 Mr. Street's analysis, 89
 Capital and credit, 151, 152
 function of, 138
 Cash, *see* Credit
 in advance advocated, 142
 Catering services, cash pay-
 ment for, 142
 Cathedrals and primitive Chris-
 tianity, 117
 Cause of the World's troubles
 (Chapter I), 9
 Central Fund, C. of E., 118-20
 Children and the Churches, 125
 and the working wife, 40
 Christ and the Church, 122
 Christian Church, function of
 (Chapter VII), 114

- Christianity, a common bond of
 nations, 127
 and civilization, 5
 and lip-service, 116
 and war, 119
- Church, the, and New World
 (Chapter VII), 114
 and security, 120
 and workers, 23
 attendance, 125
 function of, 114 *et seq.*
- Cinemas, cash payment at, 142
- Civil Service pensions, 4, 48
- Civilization, 1
 and the Church, 122
 of the past, remnants of, 27
- Class envy, 38
- C.O.D. payments, 153
- Colonization and land, 71
- "Combines," 30
- Commonwealth of Nations, 5, 11
- Communism, 21, 22, 134, 174
- Community work, 45
- Company promotion, evils of, 159
- Compulsory retirement of over
 55's, 5, 44-7, 64
- Conclusion, 173
- Conscience, National, 17, 18
- "Cornering" goods, 144
 wealth, 25
- Country school curriculum, 96
- Creation, 9
- Credit, abolition of, 140 *et seq.*
 and cash, 6
 deposits, 153
- Creditors and debtors, 144
- Creeds and union, 5
- Crime as a disease, 165
 problem of (Chapter IX),
 160
- Critical years in education, 95
- Crusade, a new, 130
- Curable and incurable crimi-
 nals, 166 *et seq.*
- Curriculum of a Council School,
 96
- Czechoslovakia, 178
- DARTMOOR disturbances, 166
- Death on the roads, 163, 164
- Debts and debtors, 140
- Defence and the Empire, 73
- Deferred payments, 154-6
- Democracy, 22
 and communism, 21, 175
 and youth (Chapter V), 91
- Demobilization and short-time,
 43
- Directors and fraud, 158
- Disarmament, 116
- Disciples and cathedrals, 117
- Discontent and progress, 106
- "Doles," 12, 19
- Dominions, 5
 and defence, 73
 and emigration to, 64 *et
 seq.*, 69
- "Dominion Status," 73
- ECONOMY and retrenchment,
 20
- Education, 24, 95, 100
 cost of, 70
 free, 23, 24
 mass, 181
 results of compulsory, 64
- Emigration schemes 68 *et seq.*
 failure of past 67
- Empire, the, as a whole, 2
 and work, 30
 assets and liabilities, 54,
 Board, development of, 81
 Cabinet, 86, 87
 development, 65 *et seq.*
 Free Trade, 88
 policy, 74 *et seq.*
 part of, in the scheme
 (Chapter IV), 63
- Employers not to be retired, 53
- Epilogue, 178
- Equality of opportunity, 6
 of opportunity for the
 sexes, 112
 of sacrifice, 32
- European Journey* (Gibbs), 122

Evolution, theories of, 1
and the sexes, 105
Excess wealth and leisure, 32

FACTORIES in the Dominions,
81

Failure of emigration schemes,
67

Farrow's Bank smash, 146

Fascism, 134

Fear, results of, 115, 116, 122

Finance and colonization, 76
and gold, 3

and industry, 29

"Big," 133, and Chapter
VIII

Financial revolution (Chapter
VIII), 138

"First Offenders," 166

Five-year plan, 81

Flats and houses, 35

Foreword, 1

Forty-hour week for men, 56

"Four bare walls" example, 15,
34

France, 178

Fraud prevention, 157, 158

Free Trade, Empire, 88

GARDEN of Eden, 106

Germany, *see* Hitler

Girls (Chapter VI), *see* Women

Giving and receiving, 22

God and war, 114 *et seq.*, 179
in man's image, 1

Government pensions, 4, 48

Grapes of Wrath (J. Steinbeck),
90

"Great Architect of the Uni-
verse," 115

Greece, 178

HABITUAL criminals, 167

Happiness, the right to, 11,
14, 26; *see* Leisure

Hatry crash, 146

"Haves" and "Have-nots,"
nations, 17, 131, 133
persons, 13, 117, and
passim

Hire-purchase system, 143, 154-
156

Hitler, 3, 114, 125, 126, 178
and youth, 97

Holland, 178

Hooley crash, 146

Hours, reduction of working,
33, 39, 56

Housing and amenities for
emigrants, 85

IDLENESS after retirement, 53

Imports from abroad, 66

Income tax and married
women, 103

Incurable criminals, 166

Industrial pensions, 4; *see* Pen-
sions

Insularity, 133

Insurance and crime, 161
against revolution, 19
services, cash payment for,
142

International forces, 132
language, 134

Investment of leisure, 35

Investors, protection of, 159

"Isms," danger of, 17

Isolation of habitual criminals,
169

Italy, 145

JAPAN, 87, 115

KING, Mackenzie, on new
world order, 6, 7, 72
Kingsley-Fairbridge schools, 69
Kuzbass (Siberia), Mr. Barker
on, 175

LABOUR PARTY, rise of the,
110, 180

- Labour, reservoir of, for the
plan, 85
- Land, deterioration of, 82, 88
- "Land fit for heroes," 2, 32
- Landowners, 21
and rents, 55
- Language, international, 134
- League of Churches, 123, 124,
128, 132
- League of Nations, 70, 109, 115,
123, 124, 131 *et seq.*
- Leisure (Chapter III), 33
and equality, 28
and time (*q.v.*), 34
and unemployment, 42
and women, 36, 37, 39
importance of, 15 *et seq.*
meaning of (Chapter III),
33
- Leisured classes, 12
no room for, 30
- Licences, cash payment for, 142
- Life sentences, 166 *et seq.*
- Limitation of profits, 55
- Limited liability companies and
credit, 157
law, 144
- Lip worship, 126
- Liquidation, after-effects of, 144
et seq.
- London and the Empire, 71
capital of the Common-
wealth, 87
- Longfellow ("Village Black-
smith"), 143
- M**ACHINES and labour, 113;
see "Man"
production, 18
- Man and machines (Chapter
II), 23
in God's image, 1
right to work and security,
12
- Man-power, 4
- March of the unemployed, 62,
63
- Market gardeners, 61
- Marks and Spencer, 154
- Marriage and industry, 101
- Married women, retirement of,
44, 64
- Middle classes and amenities,
15
difficulties of, 49 *et seq.*
- Military Colleges, 93
- Money value of time, 14, 33
- "Money with order," 153
- Moors (Morocco), art school of,
98
- Motors, cash payment for, 142
- Motoring offences and in-
surance, 163
- Munitions, 130
and peace-time, 11
- N**AVAL COLLEGES, 93
- National boundaries, 130
services, no credit allowed
in, 141
work for unemployed, 42-
44, 56
- Nations, Commonwealth of, 5,
11
- Nazism, Communism, and
Christianity, 134
- "No credit" plan (Chapter
VIII), 138
- "No one loses," 161
- Norway, 178
- O**LD age pensions, 49; *see*
Pension
- Old school tie, abolition of, 94
- "Over 55's," retirement of, 5,
44-7, 64
- "Overheads," 142
- Ownership; a trust and a
liability, 13
- P**ACIFISM and the Church, 127
- Pacifist groups, 123
- Parks and open spaces, maxi-
mum use of, 58

Parliament and women, 110
 Payment on delivery, 153
 Peace and war finance compared, 11
 and war transition, 11, 21
 security, faith, 7
 "at any price," 129
 Pension schemes, 4
 Civil Service, etc., 4, 48
 on compulsory retirement, 48 *et seq.*
 Pepper, cornering, 144
 Pioneering, 68
 Plenty and starvation, 24, 25
 Poland, 178
 Postal service, cash payment for, 142
 Post-war trading (Chapter VIII), 138
 Poverty and bad housing, 160
 Power, lust of, 10
 Prayer and action, 124
 Priests, and contentment with state of life, etc., 23
 pensions for, 120
 type needed, 121
 Primitive Christianity, 129, 130
 Prison system, 166
 Production and Empire development, 80
 Productive State work, 57
 Propaganda, dangers of, 17
 Propertied classes, no place for, 12
 Public schools and brains, 92

RAW materials, 130, 133
 Reconstruction, 3, 4
 Roads, deaths on, 163, 164
 improvement of, 59, 164
 Russia, 21, 54, 91, 94, 134, 174, 178
 and communism, 21

SAINSBURY'S, 154
 Sales-organization, 29

School age, 92
 training after, 13, 14
 -leaving age, extension of, 44
 ties, old, abolition of, 94
 Scotland Yard, 161
 Security for all, during and after work period, 3, 4, 14, 17, 18, 28, 49
 Serfdom, 23
 Service and brotherhood, 7
 Shellac, cornering, 144
 Short-time plus State work for unemployment, 43 *et seq.*, 58
 Siberia, 175
 Social democrats, 28
 State work, 57
 Somerset House, 159
 South Africa, Mr. Street's analysis, 89
 Speed limits, 164
 Stalinsk, 176
 Stamp duties as guarantee, 159
 Standard of life, raising, 20 and *passim*
 State and people, 12
 duty, in matters of pensions, 50
 work, 44
 work and the dole, 42, 43
 work for unemployed, 56
 Statistical Abstract for the U.K., 145
 Stock Exchange gambling, 139
 Street, A. G., 88, 89
 Suffragettes and voting power, 41
 Synopsis of plan advocated, 59

TAXATION and large estates, 29
 Taxes and rates, cash payment for, 142
 Telegraph service, cash payment for, 142
 Tetuan and Moorish arts, 98

Theatres, cash payment for, 142
 "Three men and a parson," 5
 "Three R's," 95
 "Time is money," 33, 37
 use of spare, 15 *et seq.*, 38
 Trades Unions, 18, 35, 36, 41, 57
 and wives, 41
 Tradition and the Church, 116
 Training for emigration, 83, 84
 Travel services, for cash only,
 142

UNEARNED profits, 13, 31
 Unemployed march to
 London, 62
 Unemployment, 3
 abolition of, 17 and *passim*
 after the war, 42
 State work as a cure for, 51
 Universities and brains, 92
 Untrained men not to be sent
 abroad, 83, 84
 U.S.A. and immigration, 67

VICTORIAN women, 107

WAGES in jails, 170
 of the sexes, 102
 War and God, 114 *et seq.*, 179
 and peace, work in, 68, 69
 and science, 1

Wealth, proper use of, 3, 4,
 and power, misuse of, 6, 10
 Welwyn garden city, 60
 Whitefield's Central Mission,
 123
 Whittaker Wright smash, 146
 Wireless service, cash payment
 for, 142
 Wives, position of, 41, 44
 Women and reconstruction, 101
 et seq.
 calling up of, 112
 crèches and, 40
 equality of (Chapter VI),
 101, 176
 five-hour day for, 39
 function of, 6
 income tax and married,
 103
 retirement of married, 44
 use of leisure, 36, 37, 39
 working hours of, 34, 39
 Woolworth's, 154
 Workers, elderly, retirement of,
 46; *see also* Security
 World's troubles, cause of,
 (Chapter I), 9
 Writing off losses, 141

YOUTH and age, 2, 3,
 and Hitler, 97
 planning for, 182
 to be fully employed, 47

